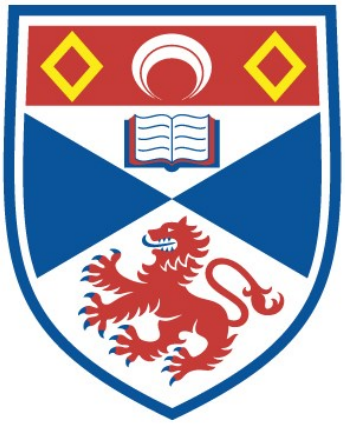
ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE RELEVANCE OF MATRILINY AND CHIEFSHIP AMONG THE ASANTE OF PRANUM DISTRICT, GHANA

Baafour Kwaku Adomako-Attah Kwabiah

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1999

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE RELEVANCE OF MATRILINY AND CHIEFSHIP AMONG THE ASANTE OF PRANUM DISTRICT, GHANA.

BY

BAAFOUR KWAKU ADOMAKO-ATTAH KWABIAH

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

to the University of St. Andrews

November 1998

DEDICATION

To my mother and brothers to whom I am beholden for this success and to my wife and children.

DECLARATION

I, Baafour K. Adomako-Attah Kwabiah, hereby certify that this thesis is approximately 100,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record work carried out by me in the University of St. Andrews and that it has not been submitted in any previous publication for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 at the end of October 1992 as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in Social Anthropology (Development Studies) on the same date.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the continued relevance of matriliny among the present-day Asante of Pranum District in Ghana. At the core of this investigation is Domeabra-Owerriman Traditional Area which is in a state of crisis caused by the decline in cocoa production and the superimposition, by government edict, of the World Bank's 'Structural Adjustment Programme'. An examination of household economic strategy in Domeabra-Owerriman reveals that, as in the traditional past, in the face of ecological and economic catastrophes Asante continue to invoke matrilineal notions. These days such notions are especially pertinent in respect of the organisation of overseas migration.

The thesis reviews the organisation of the traditional chiefship institution, and examines its continued relevance to Asante. Engaging with the anthropological literature on matriliny, it argues that, in the present-day world, chiefship crucially supplies legitimacy and value to matriliny, and thus underpins it as an important institution for the articulation of Asante affairs. As a citizen of Domeabra-Owerriman myself, an overseas migrant in both Norway and Britain, and a recent contestant for a local chieftaincy, my own vivid impression and experiences supply much by way of the ethnography reported in this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the many people who helped me in my educational journey. I am indebted to the Department of Social Anthropology, University of St. Andrews. In this Department, I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr David Riches for his persistent support, insight, inspiration and constructive criticism which claimed a good part of his time. I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor for his intellectual stimulation, guidance and support which he provided throughout my studies. In writing up my thesis, I welcomed his patience when initial technical problems made it seem as if little progress was being made. His initial care and comments on technical presentation was more than teaching. I have benefited from our discussions which gave me new insights and broadened my views on continuing researching into Asante society as an insider. My supervisor's unique ability to interpret my work on Asante social organisation: The Economic Crisis and the Relevance of Matriliny and Chiefship Among the Asante of Pranum District, Ghana, has made him one of the Asantetologists who greatly influenced me and this has reflected in this work.

I must express my appreciation to Mr E. H. Mends, Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, where I was a Guest Scholar. I express the same gratitude to Mr Thomas Buabeng of the same Department who was my fieldwork assistant. I am also grateful to Dr Keith Hart of the African Study Centre, Cambridge University and Dr Gareth Austin of

the London School of Economics who read through my PhD proposals and invited me for discussion. They encouraged me as a native to rediscover Asante's past and present and Asante responses to the imposition of ERP/SAP. I am grateful to Professor Jan-Peter Blom of the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, Norway, who prepared me to undertake my PhD programme. His encouragement, guidance and intellectual stimulation gave me the courage to undertake the programme. I am very grateful to Dr Julian Crowe, instructor, Information Technology Service, University of St. Andrews, who became my computer teacher. This claimed a good part of his time. Even though he was also engaged in PhD programme he was always ready to help me. I wish also to thank Dr Bruce Ryan for his help in presentation and proof reading. I give thanks to University of St Andrews for their Studentship grant, Africa Educational Trust and Russell Fund for their generous financial award.

I am indebted to the numerous officials of the Ministries of Agriculture, Trade and Tourism, Finance and Economic Planning, Pranum Agricultural Extension officers, Kumase Institute of Crop Research. I am much indebted to teachers and farmers of Owerriman area who kindly answered my interview questions and completed my questionnaire for this study. I shared my daily activities with the people of Domeabra, particularly Nana Kwasi Amoako-Attah (Adontenhene), Mr Asare Afriyie (Chairman, Plot Allocation Committee and Chairman of local branch of the National Farmers Union), my twin brother Cdr. Attah Adomako-Kwabiah, my matri-uncle

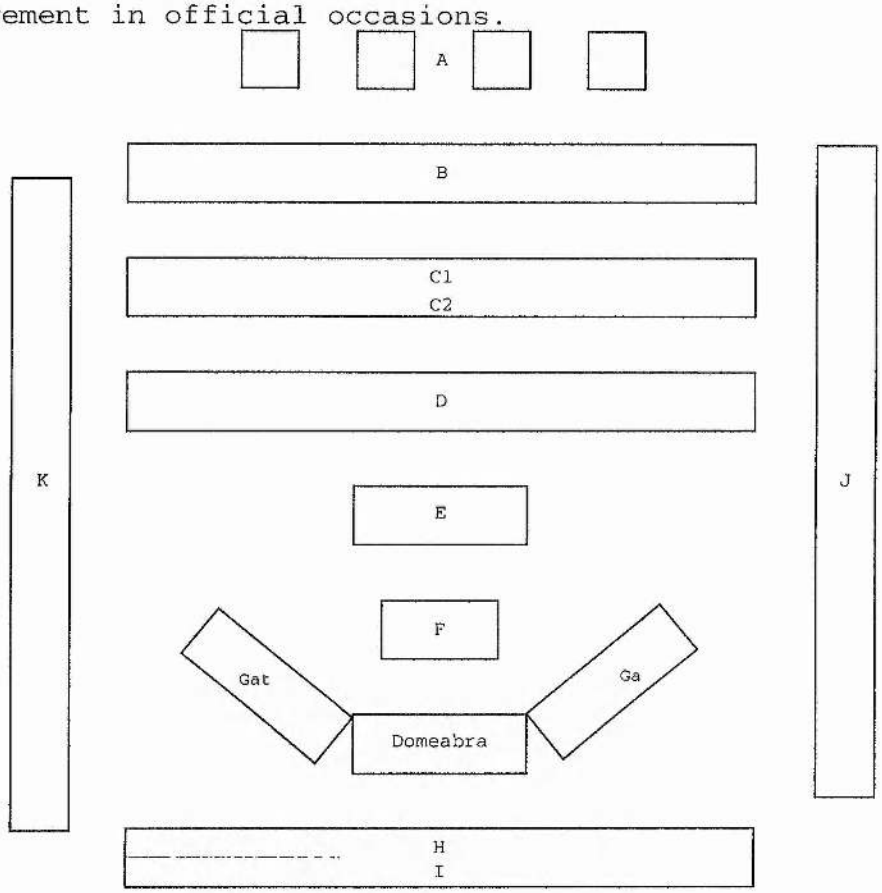
Opanin Kofi Baafi and my matri-brother Opanin Kofi Amoako Gyampah. My people gladly welcomed me to their homes. In my discussion on the consequences of SAP effect on their households, I have introduced their responses to ecological changes which reflect their lives and unveil the flavour of matriliny and Asante notions in time of catastrophe, upheavals, disruptions and displacements.

My thanks also go to Nana Ti Afun Ampratwum, Paramount Chief of Ofoase Divisional Council, who contributed to the history of Akoaseman Beretuo and Nana Baafour Asare Dwamena II, Akwamuhene of Ayaase, the only living authority of Ahensan-Ayaase Beretuo oral history.

GLOSSARY: ASANTE OR AKAN TERMINOLOGY AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

In this glossary, many words have been written in the traditional preferred orthography. Others are within a recent Akan orthography. It must be pointed that many words can only be defined in context and that no exact English equivalent exists. The meanings of the words listed below are those meanings they have in this text. For further information on the use of many words, the reader is referred to J. G. Christaller, *A Dictionary of the Asante, and Fante Language, called, tshi*, Basel, 1881 (second revised edition, Basel, 1933).

The following diagram shows the Asante war formation. Presently, it is used for ceremonies and as a seating arrangement in official occasions.



A: Scouts (Akwansrafo)

B: Advance guard (Twafo), lead by the Twafohene

C1: The Akwamu, lead by the Akamuhene. This wing is part of the Krontihene's wing and the Akwamuhene is third-in-command (under the Chief and the Krontihene)

C2: Kronti, lead by the Krontihene, who is also second-in-command to the Chief

D: Main bodyguard (Adonten), lead by the Adontenhene

E: Palace Guard (Gyasefo), lead by the Gyasahene

F: The Chief (Ohene). He pushes the whole army

G: Chief's bodyguard (Ankobea). The Chief is surrounded by his bodyguard. To his front is the Gyase, on his right the Ankobea (Ga), on his left the Atipin (Gat). Domeabrahene is behind the King.

H: Rearguard (Kyidom), lead by the Kyidomhene. Kyidomhene is always supported by the Domakwa

I: Domakwa, lead by the Domakwahene.

J: Right wing (Nifa), lead by the Nifahene

K: Left wing (Benkum), lead by the Benkumhene

In times of war, the Kronti and the Akwamu joined the Adontenhene to form the main body of the National or Territorial army.

(Adapted from R. S. Rattray, 1929)

Abakomadwa	The stool for an heir apparent.
Aban	A building of stone. Hence abankesee, 'castle, citadel'. By extension, aban, 'government' and sometimes abankeseemu, 'central government'.
Abirempong	Elder or Wing-Chief, plural; Birempong- singular. Literally 'big man'. An hereditary title held by the heads of territorial chiefdoms like Paramount Chiefs or Wing-Chiefs.
Abusua	Matriclan or matrilineage, a corporate matrilineal family group which traces descent from a known ancestress; that is kinship reckoned by matri-filiation; plural - mmusua. The senior member or members of such a lineage is abusua-panin, pl. abusua-mpaninfoo.
Adae	A festival at which offerings may be made to the ancestors, occurring twice in every Asante month of forty-two days. Hence the Akwasidae always held on a Sunday, and the Awukudae on a Wednesday and the Odwira
Adonten	The main body of an army, Adonten chief is Adontenhene

Adontenhene	the main commander of the centre division.
Afenasoafoo	The swordbearers: the official messengers whose badge of office was the decorative sword. Hence Afenasoofoohene - the head of the swordbearers also known as Asomfoohene.
Ahenkwaa	pl. nhenkwaa - Literally, 'the servant of an ohene'. Used to describe the functionaries of government (including the Royal Household) who almost always held appointive and not hereditary posts. More or less synonymous with asomfoo.
Akwamuhene	(1) The nominal second-in-command of an army, a title held in Kumase by the Asafohene. (2) The ruler of Akwamu, a district in the Lower Volta.
Akoa	singular and Nkoa plural - a person who is stool subject or a domestic servant of someone.
Akuraa	pl. nkuraa - A village (cf. Kuro)
Amanhene	Paramount Chiefs - plural; Omanhene - singular.

Aman	Traditional states or Amantoo - plural; Oman - singular. The Amantoo are the major traditional political divisions of Asante. Each division forms a Divisional Council headed by Omanhene. The Omanhene has territorial powers of his area. He administers the area with his sub-chiefs or wing-chiefs - Asafohene.
Amansem	Debating policy, as opposed to asenni (qv)
Amantoo	The larger and older aman within Asante, and especially the akan aman nnum : the five aman of first rank (usually named as Kumase, Dwaben, Kokofu, Bekwai and Nsuta. They are five Oyoko clan towns. Mampong is sixth town but is of Beretuo clan.
Amrado	Governor, a loan-word from Arabic via Portuguese, apparently applied originally in Asante to the resident commissioners in the provinces. Omankrado has traditional function as ombudsman. He is the most respected and articulate person who is a community arbiter. He has socio- political recognition as Chief.
Ankobeahene	wing-chief of the Chief's own guard.

Asafo

(i) A company organised for war, or other communal purposes. Hence Asafohene, a captain, military officer etc.

(ii) Plural of Osafo - it is a group of commoners (Nkwankwaa) of popularly organised young men not on the basis of a lineage group of a village or town in Akan chiefdoms.

Asafoakye(Nkankwaahene)

These are group leaders of asafo units. In certain areas they are called Nkwankwaahene. In the past they were pressure groups. According 1992 Chieftaincy Act the Nkwankwaa has no political role to swear the Great Oath to remove a Chief. The authority rests on the wing-Chiefs.

Asante

The name refers to the people of Asante kingdom. The Asante people are the sub-ethnic group of Akans of Ghana and Ivory Coast. It is often written in English books as Ashanti.

Asantehemaa

The Queen of Asante, chosen from among the women of the royal Oyoko dynasty. (cf. Ohemma)

Asantehene	The King of Asante, chosen from among the men of the royal Oyoko dynasty. He is at the apex of politico-jural administration of the Kingdom. (cf. Ohene)
Asantemanhyiamu	Literally, the assembly of the Asante Nation; the highest legislative council and court.
Asenni	Political counselling, as opposed to amansem (qv).
Asoamfoo	The hammock-carriers, hence Soamfoohene - head of the hammock-carriers of the Golden Stool.
Asomfoo	From esom, service. Administrative officials or functionaries holding appointive rather than hereditary positions, cf. ahenkwaa.
Asokwafoo	Traditionally, the court horn-blowers. Among their many duties, the asokwafoo were royal sextons and official traders. The Asokwahene or Batahene was head of the group.
Atumtufoo	The Asantehene's bodyguards, organised under the Ankobeahene of Kumase.

Awunyade	Death estate of a deceased person or death-duty imposed on the estate of a subject (akoa) of an Asante or a Chief which make the property in question the property of a stool or the traditional state. Sometimes loosely referred to as Ayibuade (qv).
Ayibuade	A tax imposed upon an inheritance, but often used synonymously with awunyadie (qv).
Benkumhene	wing-chief of the left wing of the army. Hence commander of left wing.
Beretuhene	Chief of Beretuo lineage.
Domakwakwahene	Foreign Affairs Minister (Chief for foreign affairs).
Dwa	'A Stool', the symbol of office. Hence abusua dwa - family Stool; Po Dwa - a Black Stool created by Asantehene; Aban dwa or eson dwa - a functionary's Stool; Kofo dwa - a military Stool ; Sika Dwa - the Golden Stool.
Fekuo	Literally, 'a group of persons'. Used to refer to the various specialised agencies

	or departments of government, for example, Sanaa Fekuo, 'the Household Treasury'.
Foto	The leather bag containing weights, and thus by extension, Foto, 'the Treasury'.
Fotosanfoo	Those who worked in the Treasury, the weighers and accountants.
Fufuo	A staple food made of pounded cooked cocoyam, yam or plantain at times with cooked cassava. It is served with soup.
Futuo	Containers such as money boxes or leather bags which valuable things like gold dust are kept.
Gyaase	Literally, 'the hearth', used here to describe the personnel of the Royal Household.
Gyaasehene	head of the palace personnel.
Gyaasewa	Literally, 'the little Gyaase', used here to describe the Exchequer personnel.
Gyasewahene	Exchequer or Finance Minister

Kalabule — Corruption or illegal economic practices mostly involving black-marketing or the illegal sale of goods above control prices and hoarding of commodities to attract higher prices.

Kenkey, Dokono — It is maize staple food made up maize dough which is sometimes fermented. It is eaten with soup, meat or different sauces.

Krontihene or Krontihene — A military title, nominal commander-in-chief of an army. In Kumase the title was always held by the Bantamahene.

Kuro — pl. nkuro - A smaller town.

Kyidomhene — Wing-chief for rear guard or Commander of the rear guard army.

Mmammadwa — Princes or sons' Stools, originally non-hereditary positions appointed by Asantehene or any Chief, which is passed from father to son rather through matrilineal inheritance. The office and title are Ankobea- Ankobeahene; Atipin-Atipinhene; Akyempem - Akyempemhene etc.

Mogya	(singular = bogya) The blood group - the group of person of the same uterine descendants or matrilineal descendants. Mogya is often used among the patri-children.
Mpena Awadie	Defined in terms of social relation - "lover marriage". Traditionally it has no legal recognition. For there is no customary rite as tiri nsa or bride-wealth is paid. There is no legal binding as such the husband has no entitlement to claim any damages if the partner commits adultery. The woman is just a partner. This form of friendship was not tolerated in pre-colonial Asante era.
Nana	a title for a wing-chief. Translated as Elder (cf. Opanin = elder of a family respected senior man). Hence "Chief and Elders" means the same people as "Chief and wing-chiefs"
nana	grandparents or grandchildren (depends upon spoken stress). When pronounced with short vowels, "nana" means grandparents. When pronounced with long vowels and a separation between the two syllables, "na-na" means grandchildren.

Nifa	(Right hand) the right wing of an army. Hence Nifahene, commander of the right wing.
Nkoa	Commoners who are dependent subjects of a chief in Asante society. It is different from donko- a slave, Sing. Akoa; All Asantes were nkoa of the Asantehene.
Nkonnwasoafoo	The stool-carriers, hence Nkonnwasoafoohene head of the carriers of the Golden Stool or any Stool.
Nkramo	Muslims
Nkurasefo	Rural dwellers, villagers.
Nkwankwaa	The retinue of commoners who formed militia group in Asante kingdom. Their leader was known as Nkwankwaahene.
Nnoboa	Literally , do - weed, boa- help. It is a working co-operative group or traditional local self-help groups of friends. They arrange to work on rotation on each others farms.

Nnomum — The Akan prisoners of war who were recognised as captives. They are assimilated into the local society.

Nseniefoo (pl.) or Nseneafoo — Members of diplomatic missions. Hence Nseniehene, the head of the criers and heralds.

Nsumankwaafoo — The Asantehene's physicians, from suman, 'protective medicine'. The head is the Nsumankwahene.

Nton or Ntoro — The soul or spiritual connection between the father and his patri-children. That is the patrilateral kinship system. There is spiritual totemic identification shared by the father and his patri-children. They have common dietary restrictions and ritual sacrifices.

Obaa-panin — 'Old lady', The senior female royal of a family. The occupant of a female Stool. Opanin (elder)

Obirempon/Birempon — Originally the Obirempon was an Elder or wing-Chief with special title. But after 1900 when capitalism was introduced in Akan

society there developed special wealthy commoners who gained social position like aristocrats. They were involved in trade and large scale cocoa farming. Their social status was still commoner. They did never had chiefship titles. It therefore became as a social title of attainable by achievement by the very wealthy. After 1980 the king of Asante created a new title for office of progress and development. The office was Nkosoo (progress) and the title for Nkosoo chief was NKOSOHENE. Some of the new progressive wealthy men were honoured as NKOSOHENE.

Odekuro or Odikro The headman or a sub-chief of a village (plural - adekuro). He is responsible for the local politico-judicial administration.

Odonko or donko Slave- a person sold for domestic service normally of non-Akan origin. Plural -nnonkofo. In pre-colonial era it was used to refer to the 'stateless' peoples of the northern Ghana, such as the Grushie and Konkomba, who formed a large part of the unfree labour force in Asante.

Odwira	The major annual festival, of religious and political significance, at which attendance was obligatory, from dwira - to purify.
Ofahene/Safohene	is a wing-chief or royal office holder as a councillor to a chief in chiefship bureaucracy. Plural afahene. The popular name is Asafohene or Mpaninfo.
Ohene	Chief or King
Omanhene	Oman - state, hene or ohene - Chief. That is Paramount Chief. I use capital C for senior or Paramount Chief.
Ohemma	female Ohene (Chief or King). It is often written Queenmother.
Ohene	Chief is the general name. There are different levels of Chiefs. For example Ohene as the lower level and Omanhene as senior Chief. Plural - Ahen or Ahenfo - chiefs. Chief means - king, ruler, head etc. Hence Asantehene - King of Asante; Mamponhene - ruler of Mampon; Afenasoafoohene: head of the swordbearers.
Oheneba	pl. ahenemma. Son of an Ohene. Used here in the sense of a son of an Asantehene, i.e.

oheneba of the Golden Stool. In Asante English, 'a prince' as opposed to an odehyee, 'a royal'

Ohenenana — pl. ahenenana - A grandson of the Golden Stool: strictly, that is, the son of an oheneba or prince.

Okonkofo or Okonkoni — Entrepreneurs, plural - Akonkofo. In the pre-colonial era they were the people appointed by Asantehene to engage in gold business or ammunition trade.

Okyeame — pl. Akyeame. Often translated linguist or spokesman and some times in old sources secretary. The akyeame were responsible for counselling the Asantehene and also served as counsel in all legal proceedings. Here translated as counsellors, in contradiction to the councillors, that is, the voting members of the Asantehene's councils

Oman — pl. aman - Nation, state, polity, etc. A term not capable of precise definition. Thus the Asanteman, 'the Asante Nation, Juabenman, the Juaben state (within the Asanteman).

Omanhene	pl. Amanhene. The ruler of an oman, usually with reference to the larger districts and especially the amantoo (qv).
Opanin	pl. Mpaninfoo Literally 'an old person', 'elder', and used as a term of respect for any senior person (in contrast with nkwankwaa, (qv). Mpaninfoo is often used to mean 'councillors', though some members of council will be entitled to higher rank, cf. abirempon.
Oteyiye	"Big Man" is not a chiefship title but social title of a man of economic wealth.
Otogyeni	The revenue collectors, belonging to the Exchequer.
Sanaa	A bag made of an elephant's ear, used for holding weights. Hence the Sanaa, the Asantehene's Household Treasury, and Sanaahene - the head of the Sanaa.
Sikani or Sikafo	Wealthy person or the man of wealth, rich man.
Tiri Nsa	Headwine. It is a bride-wealth of Asante equivalent given by would be husband to the

wife's family to legitimise the marriage and absolute sexual monopoly.

Twafohene — the wing-chief for the front guard of the army.

Yafunu — Uterine segment of a matrilineage tracing from the same ancestress.

Zongo — A quarter of town or village which is the residence for strangers mostly of northern (Bozamfari) or Saharan migrants.

ABBREVIATIONS

AFRC Arm Forces Revolutionary Council. Military coup government headed by Fl. Lt. Jerry Rawlings from June 1979 to September 1979.

ARPS Aborigenes' Rights Protection Society. It was an indigenous organisation established by the professional elite of the Gold Coast in the 1890s to protect the political, cultural and property rights of Africans against colonial and merchant interests.

AYA Asante-Akyem (Pranum) Youth Association. It was a youth organisation formed by Asante-Akyem political elites to demand completely autonomous Divisional Councils and elevation to paramount status for senior Chiefs. Senior Chiefs of Amantena, Domeabra and Obogu supported the course of this organisation. The members of this organisation were members of CPP. The CPP government by-passed the Asantehene and elevated the above three Chiefs to paramount status with respective Divisional Councils.

BKF Brong Kyempim Federation. It was an organisation formed primarily by Brong chiefs and people of north-west Asante which fought for regional autonomy between 1951 and 1961.

CDS Cocoa Services Division. A branch of COCOBOD (Cocoa Board) which provides sprays, technical service and advice to cocoa farmers.

CMB Cocoa Marketing Board. This was the cocoa purchasing organisation established by the colonial government in 1947. It received a monopoly for buying cocoa in 1957.

CDR Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. It was a popular local organisation established by Rawlings in 1984 by transforming the existing PDCs and WDCs, so that the ordinary citizens could participate in fighting corruption and in supporting the politics of PNDC government.

COCOBOD Cocoa Board - The state agricultural purchasing agency established by PNDC to service cocoa farmers and food farmers after 1981.

CPP Convention People's Party. The nationalist political organisation, whose founders broke away from United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), founded by Gold Coast and Asante people in 1948 to fight for self-government and independence under their leader Dr Kwame Nkrumah.

CPC Cocoa Purchasing Company. CPC was an organisation established by the CPP for purchasing cocoa in 1952. It functioned later as a state-owned monopoly company until it was dissolved in 1957.

NCWD National Council on Women and Development. It was founded in 1975 as part of a national decade of women's activities. It functioned to co-ordinate pro-women activities through the various ministries in Ghana.

NLC National Liberation Council. NLC was an alliance government of military, civil service and some Chiefs which assumed power from the overthrow of Nkrumah's government until Busia's Progress Party (PP) government was elected to power in 1969.

NLM National Liberation Movement. NLM was an organisation formed by the Asante intellectual and economic elites to challenge the political authority of the CPP. The main objective was to seek both economic and political autonomy for the Asante Region.

NRC/SMC National Redemption Council (Supreme Military Council I). This was military government of Ignatius Acheampong which overthrew Dr Busia PP government in a military coup in 1971.

NSP National Service Programme. This programme was instituted by Rawlings, PNDC government. NSP require sixth- form leavers and professionals trained in Ghana to spend one year in a capacity such as teaching, health, technical, bureaucratic or agricultural services for the government of Ghana.

OFY Operation Feed Yourself. The Acheampong government instituted OFY in 1972 as a movement to organise farmers to stimulate food production through grass-roots level initiatives.

PDC People's Defence Committees. These organisations were established by Rawlings in 1982. PDC operated in neighbourhoods to stimulate and co-ordinate services and handle local development.

PNDC Provisional National Defence Council. Government established by the Rawlings' second coup of December 31, 1981.

PNP People's National Party. Government of Hilla Limann which was elected to office in September 1979 and was overthrown by Rawlings on December 31, 1981.

PP Progressive Party. The government of Dr K. A. Busia which was elected to power in 1969.

SMC II Supreme Military Council II. This was the military government of Lt. General Akuffo, which demanded that Acheampong should step down as head of state. It proposed a return to elected constitutional government. The administration still entertained corruption and it became unpopular and was overthrown by Rawlings' first coup in May 1979.

UGCC United Gold Coast Convention. This nationalist organisation, headed by Dr J. B. Danquah was established after World War II. The nationalists demanded independence under the bond of 6/3/1844 for the Gold Coast after 100 years of British 'protection'.

UGFCC United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives. It was originally organised as the UGFC (United Ghana Farmers' Council) by Nkrumah government. It became very politicised and was being manipulated by the CPP government. In 1961, it was transformed into a state-owned cocoa purchasing organisation and was given a monopoly in purchasing by the Convention People's Party Government.

UNIGOV Referendum undertaken by the Akyeampong military government, in response to growing demands for elections and removal of a ban on political parties. The military government referendum sought the people's approval for continued government control. There were nation-wide protests against it which resulted in the SMC II office coup and the removal of Akyeampong as head of state.

WDC Worker Defence Committees. Organisations established in work places in 1982 to establish policy and fight corruption.

WID Women In Development. Regionally based projects, within District Administrative Offices, which co-ordinated women's health, educational and development activities within each region.

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PART ONE

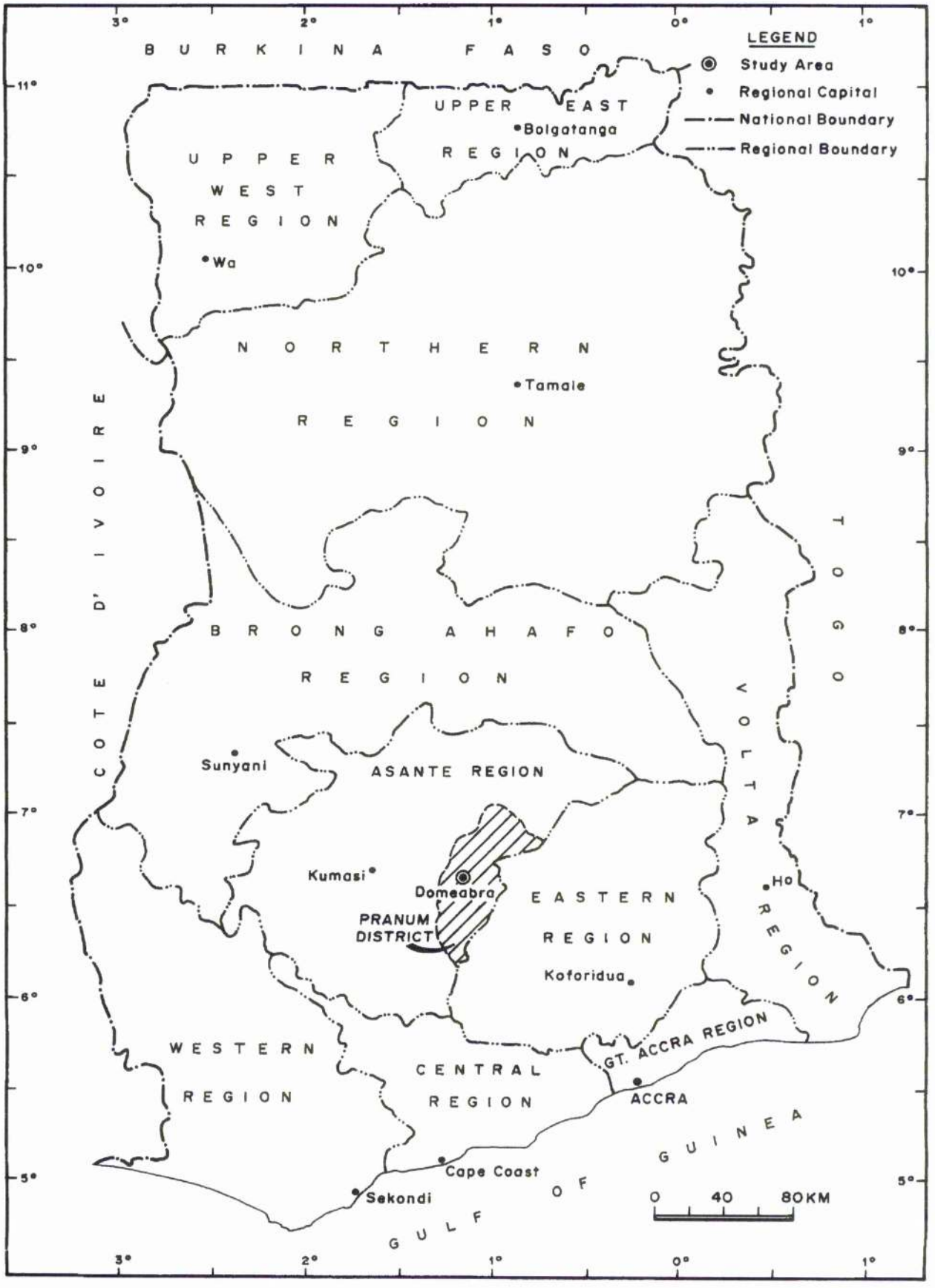
CHAPTER ONE

THE ASANTE NOTIONS, NORMS AND THE RESPONSES OF LINEAGES TO EXTERNAL CHANGES

The following thesis documents and describes lineage responses to the economic and political changes facing the people of Domeabra-Owerriman in Pranum District of Ghana. Radical changes have taken place in this region over the past 300 years. None more so than the present economic crisis which has led to extensive overseas migration. The district is part of the present-day Asante state (see Map 1). The Asante state emerged through a confederation of Akan[1] states in around 1700. It is a monarchical state wherein royal power was symbolically represented through possession of the Golden Stool (Sika Dwa Kofi) which was first invoked from the skies by the great priest Okomfo Anokye to legitimate the position of Osei Tutu as king. The power surrounding the Golden Stool derived from the belief in its supernatural origin and from its identity as the embodiment and repository of the collective sunsum (essence; spirit) of the Asante people. McCaskie (1995: 127) states that all pre-existing symbols of authority were ritually destroyed, buried or otherwise put aside. Future royals would have to legitimate their positions through tracing descent to founding ancestresses. The general argument of the thesis is that indigenous strategies for dealing with economic and political crises in the earlier period of the Asante state are similar in kind to the strategies for dealing with contemporary constraints. In other words I shall argue that there is something distinctive about indigenous Asante culture such that people in Asante

MAP 1

MAP OF GHANA SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA — DOMEABRA



society respond to upheavals in distinctively 'Asante fashion'. Specifically, in time of crisis individuals invoke Akan notions of matrilineal descent to realise their goals. Such a perspective is not often covered in the literature of Asante. In taking this as the argument discussion in following chapters will be divided up among various topics that are culturally relevant to Asante people, namely household economy, local administration, economic migration and development.

The Akan social system is characterised by matrilineal succession to political office, inheritance of property and descent. Matrilineal descent is the basis of localised lineage organisation that is generalised through the social system as a whole by an organisation of seven dispersed clans.

In the early years of the Asante state, wealth was founded on a basis of yam production. Surpluses were used to maintain both state officials and the military. Trade at this time was in gold and kola nuts which were exchanged for salt, cowrie (sedee - now the name given to modern coinage - cedi) gunpowder and slaves.

For the next 150, or so, years, the Asante state was expansionist in character. Neighbouring peoples conquered in war were incorporated within Asante socio-political jurisdiction which was, and still is, organised through the aforementioned seven main clans. Sub-states or chiefdoms had some measure of independence. Chiefs, each one associated with his own Stool, may be regarded as royals within their local domains, and they were bound in relationships of

patronage to the most senior Stools and to the Asantehene (hene - chief or king; Asantehene - King of Asante). During this period, maintaining direct access to coastal trade was important but, at times, an impossible situation to maintain. Asante were almost continually engaged in disputes with neighbouring peoples, in particular the Fantes, in Central Region.

Growing European involvement in African affairs led to the demise of what was one time a great empire. Characteristic of the pattern noticeable in other parts of the world, in the 19th century what once had been a consolidated and centrally organised political body had become fractured and marked by internal disputes. By the 1880's, a bewildering number of secessions led by individual dynasts, resulted in a prolonged series of civil wars in attempts to restore the coherent status quo of decades past. McCaskie (1995: 49) links this demise with the end of the slave trade which had been a significant source of income for Asante. This was the state of affairs when the British, on the basis of superior military power, introduced indirect rule in 1901.

The colonial period can be characterised by an increased dependency on cash crops, most notably cocoa, which were introduced by the British after 1900. Shifts in political authority were thus paralleled by fundamental changes in production. Many commentators describe this involvement in terms of capitalism (i.e. Hill, 1963). New state agendas were brought to bear and for the first half of 20th century colonial administration ruled through the auspices of

traditional rulers. Whilst land remained under the right of the Asantehene, access to all the substantive material goods of the land, oil, minerals (gold, bauxite, iron, manganese, diamond) and forest products (timber), fell into the hands of foreign companies, most commonly British. Dependency on cocoa and world market forces continued long after formal power was handed over to the independent government under Nkrumah on 6th March 1957.

The question to be asked relating to recent circumstances among the Asante, is whether, upon independence, the substance of power actually shifted from London to Ghana. Britain still controlled the police and army; the colonial governor retained a reserved power (1951-1957); British bureaucrats held most of the senior positions in the civil service; British stock holders owned the gold mines and over 90% of the import or export trade was controlled by thirteen foreign trading companies.

With regard to cocoa production, in 1948 Britain's labour government established the Cocoa Marketing Board as the Gold Coast's sole buyer, grader, seller and exporter of cocoa. The ostensible purpose was to insulate Ghana's cocoa farmers from the uncertainties of the world cocoa market. Between 1947-1961 a very large part of Ghana's cocoa surplus was being collected and centralised by this institution. However behind this institution was another agenda. In the late 1940's Britain faced massive debt, accumulated during the war years. In order to address this situation the British government took unprecedented steps to force its colonies to transfer their surpluses to London to support the pound. To

do so, a network of marketing boards were established of which the Cocoa Marketing Board in Gold Coast was just one. Marketing Board profits were held in London as sterling balances which were generally invested in long-term British government securities. Thus the pound was maintained at the expense of the development of the Ghanaian economy.

The four decades following independence have not been politically stable for Ghana. There have been four military coups each sweeping aside programmes and agendas initiated by previous regimes. This is consistent with earlier historical periods wherein access to control of firearms realised political positions.

In considering the aforementioned state of affairs, it should not be forgotten that over these turbulent years money has been made from cocoa farming. A widespread myth about Ghanaian cocoa production is that cocoa is farmed by independent small holders. Whilst relations of production and land ownership are heterogeneous, it is apparent that, in Asante, the cocoa land owner is an employer of labour. Two main strata can be identified from within this owning class; the capitalist farmers who have been able to accumulate enough capital to set themselves up as creditors and the small farmers who had fallen into debt and pledged their land. Land, both formerly and at present, is held by and accessed through lineage membership. Despite socialist rhetoric and reform since before 1960s, Chiefs remain powerful and have access to considerable resources. Notwithstanding the unfavourable economic situation facing the population in general, in terms of economic dependency on

western nations, some farmers accumulated considerable wealth when cocoa production was high. Much of this capital was invested in urban centres.

Since cocoa production was introduced in early 1900, farmers have had to contend with various diseases and ecological problems. No setbacks however have been more considerable than the drought and subsequent bushfires in 1983 which destroyed extensive tracts of cocoa farm land. In dire circumstances the Peoples' National Defence Committee (PNDC) government of Ghana, headed by Jerry Rawlings, was not in a strong position from which to negotiate with the World Bank and IMF for loans. In the resulting settlement, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which, according to the World Bank dictates, demanded a substantial reorganisation of Ghana's national economy, and Ghana's currency, cedi, was devalued over 1000 times.

In response to these conditions overseas migration has become the most successful way of accumulating capital from which economic recovery can take place. Migrants, although living and working abroad, remain lineage members. The majority travel overseas with the support of their family which in the Asante context is represented by the matri-family to whom they remain financially and morally committed.

1 (i) THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Most of the classic monographs on the Asante are informed by functionalist theory (e.g. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940). However, since the 1960s, functionalist theory has been criticised on numerous grounds.

In functionalist analysis, society is presumed to be ordered and stable. The basis of this order is not called into question rather it is portrayed as if naturally occurring. In characterising social arenas in this way functionalist commentators present very normative and stereotypical ethnographies. Generally preoccupied with prescriptive rules and custom which, by their nature, support a ruling class, society becomes reified, static and monolithic. Idealised descriptions of social order are taken at face value as though people's lives, or in functionalist rhetoric, society were one-dimensional. Most often the dimension functionalist commentators present is from the perspective of the status quo. For example Fortes represents Asante society as a segmentary lineage society. Even though there is segmentation but the Asante mythical notions about founding ancestresses keep the lineage together (Agyeman-Duah 1963, Kwabiah 1974). These writers however do not acknowledge this explicitly. Society in functionalist terms is complete, which analytically speaking leaves no room for contention nor dispute.

In the 1940s and 1950s, British anthropologists in Africa worked closely with colonial administrators (e.g. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard) or were directly employed by the British government (e.g. Rattray). Over these years the colonial administration worked on maintaining the position of traditional rulers, preserving an indigenous political infrastructure from which they could reap surplus benefits. In this light, and notwithstanding the measure of intellectual naiveté and exotic romanticism which

predominated anthropological debate at the time, it becomes less surprising that ethnographers such as Fortes and Evans-Pritchard presented the normative accounts that they did, e.g. a functional perspective on social life considered there to be a direct relationship between an idea and an action. Thus a functional view of Asante society has it that notions, ideas and knowledge oriented around chiefship have a compelling effect on what happens in daily life. However such royal, chiefly perspectives surely do not constitute everybody's reality and certainly not everybody's reality all the time. This thesis concentrates very much on matters to do with the 'royal structure', but we must look for a new methodology from which to approach the situation.

Holy and Stuchlik (1983) introduce the idea of folk models or actor's ideology. Fundamental to their argument is the proposition that, unlike functionalist theorists, they do not believe there is a compelling relation between ideas and actions. In other words how people talk about society is not wholly consistent with what people do.

Holy and Stuchlik reoriented the analysis towards the positions of the individual actor and in doing so they portray individuals as actively creating their social worlds. In pursuing this approach it becomes really apparent that any particular group has more than one way of describing the world and practically organising themselves through various political rhetoric. Such an approach is consistently represented by respective authors in Holy and Stuchlik's edited volume, 'The Structure of Folk Models' (1981), none

more convincingly than Carl Salzman and his article entitled 'Culture as enhabilmentis'.

I support Salzman when he proposes that culture is something people use, something which enables them to get what they want: "By culture is meant models, templates, plans and symbol systems which are institutionalised, established, customary, recognised and expected in society. Included are models of and models for, models descriptive and prescriptive, models general and specific" (Salzman 1981:243).

Culture according to Salzman can be looked at in terms of models, the extent to which these models hold practical significance being variable. Drawing from the work of Burghart in the 18th and 19th centuries he presents the example of classical Hindu state organisation to support his theoretical proposals:" ... (1)n the traditional Hindu system the Brahmans, ascetics, and the king each claimed their superiority in the particular world in which they lived and ... each person based his claim in terms of a particular hierarchy which was the exclusive and exhaustive order of social relations in Hindu society. The Brahman claimed his superiority according to the hierarchy of the sacrificial body of Brahman; the ascetic claimed his superiority according to the hierarchy of the cycle of confused wandering; and the Hindu king claimed his superiority in terms of a tenurial hierarchy which was derived from his lordship over the land "(Burghart 1978: 520-521).

Salzman argues that over time, and as I myself will emphasise in response to changing material circumstances,

particular realities gained or lost salience. The models (knowledge) pertaining to these realities do not disappear, however, when conditions do not suit. Rather knowledge should be considered somewhat similar to stock or capital, but in a symbolic sense. Bourdieu (1977) refers to this wealth as symbolic capital. Currency, however, as Ghanaians today know only too well can loose value very quickly. This thesis will argue that the kingship/chiefship structure constitutes a major model (the 'royal model') relevant for individual Asante (both royals and ordinary people) to draw upon and manipulate in relation to many important daily goals.

Thus, returning to my own ethnographic concern, I made mention, earlier, of the symbolic significance and efficacy of the royal symbols of authority in 18th century Asante society most notably represented through Sika Dwa Kofi (Golden Stool). It is apparent that in those years the king as head of a strong centralised and wealthy state was considered magnificent. Land, people and resources were under his jurisdiction. In effect, royalty and the political infrastructure addressed through respective clans and lineages prescribed citizenry and rights to be Asante. But it would be both an exaggeration and in contradiction to the theoretical remarks I made earlier, were it to be presumed that authority at this time was not contestable. The royal model however would seem to have been successful.

Similarities can be drawn with the contemporary situation, although the substantive cohesive power of the monarchy has been radically weakened. Having been dominated by a foreign administration for over 50 years, being

incorporated into a nation state and effected by numerous economic changes, what relevance do royal perspectives have?

It will be argued that a royal agenda has been consistently proposed by royals, and that the associated bureaucracy which formerly supported them and their representatives still survives, despite limited control over resources. Perhaps more importantly, the ideology which informs and legitimates royals remains consistent with an earlier and considerably more successful period in the history of Asante.

In addition, with the effect of the collapse of the cocoa economy modern state agendas have been called into question. It is apparent that with regard to the present economic crisis the state has not been in a position to reorganise. Individuals have looked for support through the avenues of aid closest to them, their families.

Accordingly, people's emphasis once more has to be placed on the rural economy and in establishing a sound subsistence basis. In present day Ghana those with available resources have financed one or more relatives to establish themselves overseas. In return migrant labourers reinvest and support their sponsors. This co-operation is expressed in terms of the family. Land is still distributed through the lineage and the associated hierarchy therein. Wealth accumulated elsewhere is reinvested in the family with the hope of establishing economic security back in Ghana. This is most convincingly carried out through supporting their matri-family homes.

The question here is, why the matrilineage, in modern times, remains the key social resource in relation to the engagement, by individuals, in such social processes. The matrilineage does not compel migrants to support their matri-families - to assert this would be to sustain a functionalist position. On the contrary, migrants evidently find it worthwhile to sustain individual notions. It may be argued that they do so because of their commitment, as ordinary individuals, to the 'royal model'. In Asante society, as I shall show, everyone has 'royal potential', and in relation to 'royal ambitions' social structuring relating to matriliny is vitally important: the matrilineage is, so to say, the royal route to kingship and chiefship. The crucial importance of chiefship is moreover confirmed in many other areas of Asante life, such as the organisation of development.

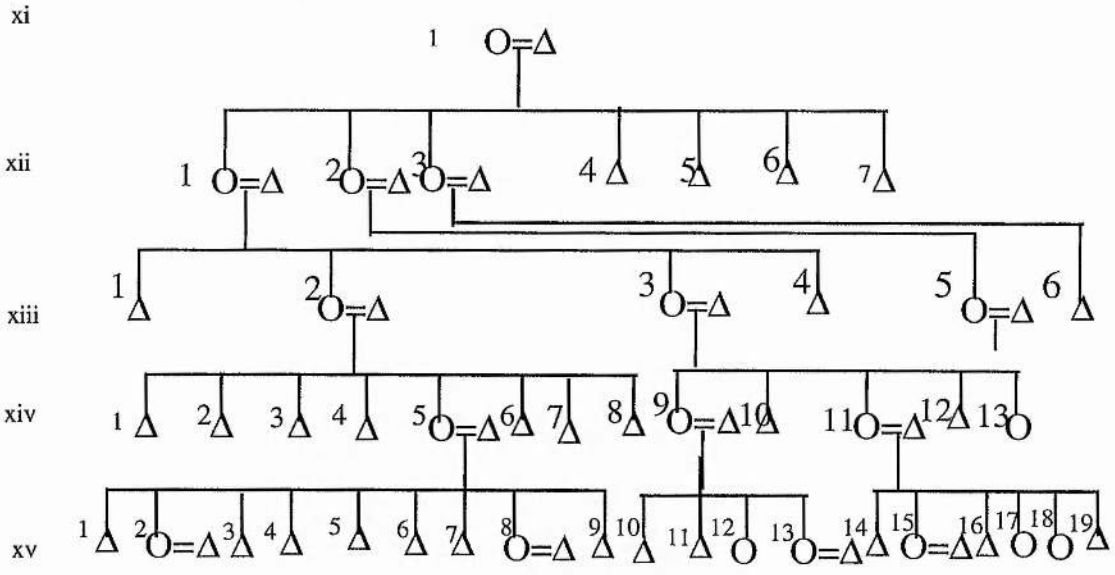
1 (ii) THE ASANTE NOTIONS OF MATRILINY

According to Busia (1951/68), Asante chiefship is based on the lineage system. This system is composed of two main principles: blood (mogya) which is inherited through the mother, and the spirit (nton) which is derived from the father. Descent is traced through the mother, for the traditional conception is that physical continuity between one generation and another is maintained through blood. A man is therefore legally identified with his maternal kinsmen. It is through membership of a matrilineal group that an individual gains access to property and political office, including chiefship. Whilst gaining jural rights individuals are, in return, under obligation to follow lineage protocol.

To illustrate, the following genealogy relates the most recent generations (xi - xv) of my own sub-lineage, with my uterine great-great-grandmother, Nana Agyarko (xi: 1) at the apex. I am xv: 4. Take my great uncle (xiii: 4). His potential successors are his brothers in order of age, his mother's sisters's son (xiii: 6) and his sisters's sons (xiv: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12). All numbered persons on the genealogy are members of the sub-lineage. The names of the respective persons, which will be mentioned from time to time in the thesis are listed in Genealogy 1. The more important names are capitalised, and names from a descending genealogy (xvi) are added.

Genealogy 1

BAAFOUR'S (xv: 4)
GENEALOGY



LIST OF NAMES FOR GENEALOGY 1

xi 1. NANA AGYARKO

xii 1. NANA ADWOA AMPONSAAH BAAKU
2. NANA AKOSUA ANTWIWAH 3. Afua Odifie
4. NANA KWADWO SEKYERE 5. Ntiamoah

6. Opuni Abayie.

xiii 1. Kwasi Agyei 2. NANA AKUA ANIMA-AGYEI
3. Nana Adwoa Adem Frimpoma 4. KOFI TWUM.

xiv 1. Hamond Kwasi Opuni 2. YAW OPUNI
3. Afua Ntiwah 4. Kwabena Koh
5. ABENA ADOMA KYIREKUA (AMOAASO AGYEMAN)
6. Amma Sakyiwah 7. KOFI BAAFI
8. Afua Nkrumah. 9. Amma Frimpoma (Baama)
10. Kwaku Frimpong (Fokuo) 11. Abena Otiwah
12. Kwaku Kwakye (Manu) 13. Afua.

xv 1. Kwadwo Akesee Ahen 2. Amma Ampratwum
3. Yaw Nuamah (Kwabiah-Amanfi)
4. BAAFOUR KWAKU ADOMAKO-ATTAH KWABIAH
5. BARIMA KWAKU ATTAH ADOMAKO KWABIAH
6. Tawiah Asabere 7. Nyankomago Asabere
8. Abena Appiaaosei Kwabiah
9. Barima Kwabena Appiah-Kwabiah
10. Kwame Kyei-Manu 11. Kwabena Kyei-Mensah
12. Yaa Afriyie
13. Akosua Etaah-Akyeampoma
14. Kwaku Boadu 15. Adwoa Serwah
16. Kwaku Frimpong 17. Abena Opokuah
18. Abena Amponsaah 19. Yaw Ofosu Gyeabuo.

xvi 1. Kwabena Opoku Adutwum 2. Amma Attaah Afrakoma
3. Amma Attaah Afrakoma (Kakra)
4. Kwabena Kwabiah-Asimpah 5. Kwadwo Ofori Bediako
6. Afua Boaah 7. Kwadwo Amponsah
8. Akua Frimpoma
9. KWABENA OWUSU-BEDIAKO
10. Kwaku Oduro Kwarteng Amanin
11. Kofi Antwi Boasiako 12. Opoku Antwi
13. Kwame Sarpong

According to Busia (1951/68), a lineage can be considered as a group of men and women who trace their descent through the matrilineal line to a common ancestress. Founding lineages of a town or village are always considered at the apex of the respective political domain. A political domain's Chief will be drawn from such a lineage, and this means, given the corporate nature of the Asante, wherever they live, they enjoy royal interests relating to some local domain or other. In Busia's reading, inheritance of property as well as succession to political office is passed through the matrilineal line. The lineages are the sub-divisions of

the clans. Members of the same clan[2] are believed to be descendants of a remote ancestress (Busia 1951/68: 85. See also Rattray 1929: 63-71). The Asante clan can be regarded as "a dispersed unorganised category", (Aberle 1961: 657), organised locally through lineages. It is through the agency of the clan that hospitality and protection may be offered by way of mutual defence and distribution of goods. The names of the seven Asante clans are Agona, Aduana, Asona-Asakyiri, Asenie, Beretuo, Koona and Oyoko-Dako (Meyerowitz 1949: 29).

In the remainder of this chapter I will be concerned with describing Asante social organisation with regard to the interrelated nature of matriliny and kingship. Numerous authors have commented on these issues, including Rattray (1923, 1927, 1929), Fortes (1970), Busia (1951/68) and Wilks (1975).

1 (iii) MATRILINY

According to Poewe, matriliny is a total system which consists of an ideology and those social actions and relations which it informs (Poewe 1981: 55). Matrilineal ideology itself is 'a folk-cultural theory of politics and economics' (ibid.: 54) and 'consists analytically of three phenomena: (1) kinship and descent principles, (2) kin categories, and (3) associated norms and values (ibid.: 53-54). This has been highlighted by Holy (1986: 1).

According to Holy (1986: 2), analytically speaking the defining feature of matriliny is the assignment of individuals to culturally recognised categories whose membership is defined by descent, traced through females

(Aberle 1961: 656; Douglas 1969: 124). This is consistent with the Asante idea of the clan.

In the context of modernisation, many anthropologists, such as Jack Goody (1962: 348), Fortes (1950: 261) and Aberle (1961), have predicted an end to matriliny; this proposal has been opposed by Mary Douglas (1969) and others. In chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10, I present information which demonstrates the continued relevance of matriliny for the Asante people. Whilst, in modern times, other matrilineal societies have adopted patriliny, the Asante still describe their social organisation in terms of matriliny. This has been especially the case in time of upheavals, dislocations and catastrophe, such as war, colonial intervention, the imposition of poll tax and capitalism, the 1983 bush fires and the recent imposition of Structural Adjustment Programme. It has been the lineages which have been mobilised as resources, in response to change.

1 (iv) THE ASANTE LINEAGE NOTIONS

I support Holy and Stuchlik in explaining people's behaviour in terms of goal orientation or purposiveness, which calls for the construction of a different explanatory model to that of the normative model (Holy and Stuchlik, 1983: 8). Thus the Asante matrilineage is not a structure existing independently of members of the society; rather it is a notion, a key aspect of Asante social knowledge, which individuals construct and manipulate. This can be illustrated through looking at the emergence of Asante kingdom and the contribution made by one Oyoko clan royal, namely Osei Tutu.

In around 1650, an Oyoko royal from Kumase called Osei Tutu, was sent to Denkyira chiefdom to study the Akan political system. At that time the Akans of Adanse (Fomena), Asantemanso (Asumegya) and Kumase were all under the rule of the Denkyira king, Boa Ampomsem (see Maps 2, 3). At that time the Denkyira Stool was very prestigious.

Whilst at Denkyira, Osei Tutu conceived a child with Boa Amponsem's niece. In fear of punishment Osei Tutu fled to Kumase. His uncle, Obiri Yeboa, incumbent Chief of Kumase, sent him to Akwamu chiefdom to learn about their techniques in political administration. There he met another Asante, by name Okomfo Anokye, from Asenie clan who was a spiritual leader and the possible successor to the Agona chiefdom near Kumase. According to Rattray (1929), Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye at Denkyira were patri-cousins.

Osei Tutu developed an ambition to create a superior kingdom through wrestling away the power of Denkyira kingdom. To achieve his goal, he solicited the support of Okomfo Anokye. During a war with the neighbouring Aduana chiefdom of Suntresu, Osei Tutu's uncle, Obiri Yeboah, and a number of Chiefs, including Okomfo Anokye's uncle who was the incumbent Chief of Agona, died. Both Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye were respectively enstooled as Chiefs of Kumase and Agona. At last Osei Tutu's ambition could be realised.

In his plan to overcome the Denkyira kingdom, Osei Tutu drew upon the support of the five Oyoko localised lineages of Kumase, Kokofu, Dwaben, Nsuta and Bekwai to form the nucleus of what was to be called Asante state. He was able to do so through identifying himself and his ancestors as similar in

kind to his fellow Oyoko neighbours. He campaigned for unity among the Oyoko people, proclaiming that this was necessary if they were to have any political success.

According to Holy "... through their actions people make a direct impact on the world" (Holy, 1986: 5). Osei Tutu's actions in building a union of the Oyoko clan as a nucleus of Asante nation was historic. In competition for royal power he invoked Akan notions of matrilineal significance in order to realise his goals.

A more local level example of lineage notions being mobilised as a blueprint for actions, is the case of my own family, under the lineage head (abusua panin), Nana Kwasi Ntiamoah, and the sub-lineage head (efie panin), Kofi Baafi (xiv: 7), in response to the economic disasters of 1983. The context was that the then government of Ghana, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had imposed a new national loan agreement (SAP) wherein the Ghana cedi was devalued 1000 times (see Chapter 4). This led to a serious crisis at the local level, for example the price of imported commodities rose drastically.

In response to this catastrophe, the lineage head appealed to lineage members for help. I was advised to invite some junior lineage members to Norway where I was at that time resident. I therefore invited my sister, my senior sisters' children and representatives of other sub-lineages. Through responding in this way, by inviting my matri-relatives, I sustained a prestigious position within the wider lineage and the local community. In doing so, it was envisaged that the lineage as a whole would benefit. People

talk in terms of being members of lineages and make commitments in these terms.

1 (v) NOTIONS AND ACTIONS IN POST-1900 GHANA

In contemporary Ghana, matriliny continues to be a relevant notion for articulating actions. Ideally speaking the Asante matrilineal system is corporate in nature. The lineage members consider themselves as one matri-family. In doing so, they express sentiments of oneness and joint rights. Women are central in Asante matrilineal systems, since access to political office and lineage property is realised through them. Brothers and sisters are bound together in the mutual interest of the sister's children, who are the future heirs of the lineage's positions and property. Women are the vessels through which access to resources and authority can be gained within the uterine group (Mikell 1989: 110).

The introduction of cocoa, around 1900, led to radical social reform (Busia 1951/1968; Hill 1963; Mikell 1989: 107). The consolidated contribution of smallholders grew to the extent that cocoa became the largest export in Ghana after 1910. The land tenure for cocoa farming was initially based on lineage and usufruct rights rather than on private (or self-acquired) ownership. Conflict, however, grew between the ideals of lineage solidarity and the affective ties of affinity. In order to start a new cocoa farm, a man and his wife would travel each day to the new farm before they would eventually settle there. In isolation from the village, few external social demands were placed on them and the force of matri-family constraints was found to dissipate.

In the mid-1930s, some sub-lineages acquired extensive family lands. Individuals accumulated more and more self-acquired (private) cocoa farms, which, in the long run, became sub-lineage property. In 1935 the Asante Confederacy Council discussed the problem of inheritance of private property and whether to uphold the principle of lineage inheritance of cocoa farms in cases where spouses had participated in contributing to labour in farms owned by husbands. In some cases a man's children would supply labour to uncles as well as to fathers. The children were expecting to inherit from their uncles, and also enjoy a share in their father's self-acquired property. With regard to the latter they would invoke the notion of nton (soul) of their father whose spiritual influence implies that a child should not become detached from his father lest there be spiritual catastrophe.

From 1900, when cocoa was introduced, cross-cousin marriage was very popular as a means to resolve these contradictions, and sustain the pre-eminence of matriliny. The Council's decision was that a person's privately acquired property should be inherited by members of their nuclear family.

The pre-eminence of matrilineal notions is found in a popular saying for young men recently married. Lineage heads often say to them "if during your marriage the woman acquires wealth, she acquires it for our family (i.e. for our lineage) so she has absolute right to bring it to the family, but if she is indebted it is your responsibility to pay for the debt". This implies that the children, as the property of the

lineage, are bound to the wife's matri-family and that, if a woman, through her own hard work (normally with the support of labour of her husband), acquires cocoa farm or farm land then it becomes her own property. Some women were given cleared, virgin-forest land to farm by their husbands. This confirms that Asantes were concerned with and supported the structural position of women. Brothers would manage lineage property, and their sisters and their children were recruited as family labour. However, it became characteristic, post-1940, for individuals to give a portion of their self-acquired property to their children. These exchanges were considered gifts rather than traditionally inherited property.

After 1940 the authority of matri-uncles was threatened by his matri-nephews and nieces, if he was working solely in the interest of his own children. Individual self advancement led to matri-family conflicts and disunity between siblings. Tension between individualism and lineage communalism could be seen as a source of conflicts. The agreement reached through The Asante Confederacy in 1942 helped to reduce family conflicts. This was consolidated, in 1990, by the national government, who decreed that a deceased's wealth should be divided among wives, children and the matri-family. However, this did not affect social heirship. With regards to heirship, it is the matrilineal uterine brothers and sisters' children who inherit. This concords with Holy's observation that there is 'no logical reason to assume that a change in the system of inheritance has invariably to be accompanied by a change in the conceptualisation of descent' (1986: 2).

1 (vi) THE ROLE OF CHIEFS AS RECOGNISED AT NATIONAL LEVEL.

Since the introduction of indirect rule political dualism has obtained in Ghana (Crowder 1968, Kwabiah 1988: 45). In parallel with the national civic administration, the Chiefs maintained a position in administering justice in their traditional political domain and also as transmitters of government policies. The chieftaincy of a population includes all the ethnic groups living in what are geographically distinct areas.

Governments have been known to have fallen on the basis of criticism from more traditional quarters. After the 1966 coup, Col. Afrifa, Chairman of the National Liberation Council, reiterated that one of the causes of the coup was that President Nkrumah had been interfering with the sacred institution of chieftaincy. In 1970, Professor Busia's Progress Party Government transformed the institution of chieftaincy by creating the National House of Chiefs which amounted to a modern political institution. Busia believed that development in African society would not be complete without the involvement of traditional roles and systems (West Africa Magazine, 1988, p.1593; Kwabiah 1988: 69). In 1979, Akyeampong's Supreme Military Council government recognised the role of the Chiefs in order that the government could implement new agricultural policies, such as the Cocoa Rehabilitation Project and Operation Feed Your Self. The Chiefs were made to explain and help the implementation processes. It was apparent to Busia that no useful development would take place in Ghana without the involvement of traditional rulers.

In 1979, Flt. Lt. Rawlings, president of PNDC government, proclaimed that the role of the Chiefs was paramount in maintaining the health of the nation. When any head of State of Ghana or government representative (such as a Minister of Ghana) visits Kumase or, indeed, any major local centre he is morally and politically bound to pay homage to Asantehene or the Paramount Chief or the Chief in that traditional area if he wants the support of the local people. Through paying such service to the Chief, royals are given the opportunity of forming allegiances with modern politicians.

Whilst the defence and security of the kingdom are the responsibility of the government the Chiefs reserve the moral right to protect their people. The following cases illustrate.

Case 1: During the Rawlings Revolution of 1979, there were rampant attacks on some individuals particularly in Kumase. This resulted in unwarranted death. The Asantehene had to go to the Christiansborg Castle[3], Accra, to see the Chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), who thereupon called an immediate halt to the AFRC's soldiers' harassment of some Kumase citizens.

Case 2: This refers to a local case, in my field area, Domeabra-Owerriman District: Nana Amoantwi, the late Chief of Domeabra-Owerriman Area (1942-1972), decided, with his Council, that the then Owerriman Local Council (i.e. the civic local government administration) had neglected development projects such as renovation of schools, paying of sanitary labourers and provision of public toilets for the

community. Secondly the Local Council administrative office, which was supposed to be sited between the two traditional capitals of Domeabra and Dwansa was sited at Dwansa, under the influence of Dwansa traditional rulers. In view of these grievances Domeabra Divisional (Chief's) Council and its people decided that no Domeabra Stool subject or citizen should pay the Local Council Tax. Contrary to the wishes of the Chief and people of Domeabra, a Domeabra citizen by name Okomfo Kwabena Anokye visited Dwansa where the Local Council tax collectors and the Dwansa police arrested him on the basis that he had not paid his annual tax to the Council. This provocative news reached the Domeabrahene, who was prepared to go to war to rescue his Stool subject. He mobilised his men, dressed in traditional battle dress and forced Dwansa police at gun point to release his subject. The police escaped en masse and one Nana Amoantwi miraculously banged the door of this cell with his foot and opened it. Nana Amoantwi rescued Okomfo Kwabena Anokye.

The royal basis to the Chief's actions, in these two cases, is that it is believed that a Chief sits on the Stool of the clan ancestors. It is therefore a sacred Stool. At the highest royal level, the Golden Stool represents the collective soul of the Asante people. McCaskie (1995: 129) discusses the rich symbology of Asante kingship from a phenomenological perspective and, drawing upon the work of Gramsci, accounts for Asante royal authority in terms of ideological structuration. In this sense, the royal house and the local chiefly lineages may be explicated as the repositories of custom and traditional rights.

When an incumbent Chief dies, all the lineage representatives of his Division, town or village, as well as the clan Stools which have blood relations with the Stool of the deceased, participate in arranging the funeral and also begin to lobby for a successor. Once again, in this context, dialogue between the state and royals is of critical importance. Respect must be paid by one to the other and vice versa (Kwabiah 1988:45).

The Ghanaian migrants overseas continue to form lineage associations and show their commitment to their clan Stools by contributing to development projects in their political domains in Ghana. Individuals respond to the demands of their lineage heads and also meet social obligations, such as funerals, church harvest and annual harvest and community development projects.

1 (vii) MY PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN DIVISION

My twin brother and I were princes of Amantena Stool (Amantena chiefdom) with its capital at Bompata Map 3,5). Our father, who was Paramount Chief of Amantena Divisional (Chief's) Council, with his knowledge and experience of Asante chiefship, educated us in Asante politics, the institution of chiefship and trained us as leaders of the people of Domeabra. As early as secondary school days we involved ourselves in student unions, Pranum Youth Organisations, and Cadet Corps of Prempeh College. We gave moral and material support to Domeabra pupils who wanted secondary education.

In 1972, I opened a private secondary school for Owerriman Area Council. Domeabra has had a private secondary school since 1954, but in 1955 when the government wanted to open a new secondary school for the whole Pranum District, instead of recognising Pranum Secondary Technical School, at Domeabra, a new secondary school was opened, at Konongo-Odumase. With the future pride of Domeabra Stool at stake, in 1972 I rehabilitated Pranum Secondary Technical School and renamed it Owerriman College. The purpose was to boost the image of Domeabra Stool and also provide education close to the people of Owerriman Area Council. In addition, I personally wanted to be successful.

While in Norway, I provided opportunities for numerous Domeabra lineage members. This attitude, on my part, can be seen to be informed through my upbringing and commitment to the Domeabra-Owerriman chiefship.

Whilst writing my thesis, in 1995 the incumbent Chief of Domeabra died and, having contributed to Domeabra Stool, its people and Owerriman area council in general for many years, I was invited to contest the office of chiefship. In Chapter 10, I shall discuss in detail the circumstances which led to the election of a different candidate from myself.

1 (viii) BENEFITS TO AN INDIVIDUAL ENSTOOLED AS A CHIEF

Once again let me reiterate that Chiefs and royals draw upon mythical, moral and religious beliefs to confirm their status. Chiefs claim to be the direct descendants of the founding ancestresses. Royal positions, such as chiefship, denote status not accessible through wealth alone. Whilst

royals have, especially in previous centuries, been wealthy their status is, in fact, honorific. The Chief is the most respected individual in his political domain. A millionaire remains, in comparison to Asantehene, a commoner. Even today deference and respect must be shown to the Chief. If he dies whilst in power, his Stool is blackened and placed with the Stools of earlier Chiefs. People pour libation over them to bring wellbeing and prosperity to the area and to the royal family. Through acting as a medium between the ancestors and the living population, Chiefs, in this particular ideological reading of Asante society are indispensable.

1 (ix) A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS

Chapter 2 focuses on Asante society and economy. This chapter provides an ethnological description of Akan kingdoms and the political evolution of Asante kingdom and how in terms of matrilineal ideas, individuals achieved the establishment of new chiefdoms. There is also discussion on matrilineal clans and their dispersed lineages, and on chiefship which was based on kinship; there is also information on the soul, or ntoro, the cult of the father.

Chapter 3 discusses the introduction of indirect rule which resulted in two parallel administrations, a state of affairs I term political dualism. This involved indigenous administration and state administration based on British political administration. The Chiefs, in certain cases, had roles in both administrations.

In Chapter 4, I shall discuss the role of capitalism in the Ghanaian economy since 1900 and various attempts by

independent Ghana governments to diversify the mono-crop, cash-economy based around cocoa. In 1983 Ghana was subjected to national economic reorganisation in a programme introduced by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Ghana government. This implemented a loan agreement policy called Economic Readjustment Programme (ERP) and a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). In general, this thesis describes the socio-economic effects caused by this programme and how Asante are responding to changes.

In Chapter 5, I shall discuss the political and economic history and the geography of Pranum District. This chapter focuses on how matrilineal families have responded to varying social and ecological changes, i.e. the bush fire, the dilemma of cocoa farmers, lack of appropriate technology and the local effects of SAP .

Chapter 6 will deal with the local political administration of Domeabra-Owerriman Traditional Area in relation to the Asante kingdom. The focus will be the role of the matrilineage in this administration.

In Chapter 7, I will be discussing the Pranum economic system and a social survey of household annual productivity and income distribution. The chapter will also unveil how the households survive under SAP. There will be analysis on individual adaptations to new economic choices and tables to show the way matriliny still survives under global economic order.

In Chapter 8, I shall discuss political and economic migration in Pranum district and how lineage ideas remain important in the social organisation of such migration.

In Chapter 9, I shall discuss the transfer of technology through the Cocoa Rehabilitation Project. This Project originally created conflict between the colonial administration's extension officers and the cocoa farmers, due to negative stereotyping of one another. Now, there is a shift, on the part of development researchers, away from advocating macro-level models of development to the formulation of micro-level planning.

In Chapter 10, I shall discuss the Asante political structure and its traditional democracy in the context of the contemporary Ghana economic crisis and how the indigenous democracy has been affected by SAP. I shall also discuss how royal overseas migrants use their wealth to invoke the principles of matriliny in order to achieve their goals of royal status at home.

1 (x) CHOICE OF RESEARCH AREA

The Asante Region was, for over 50 years (1910-1960), the centre of the cocoa industry in Ghana. Pranum district was the area where cocoa trees were first grown, in the early 1900's. The decline of the industry, due to an ageing population of cocoa farmers and ageing cocoa trees and also environmental degradation, is therefore more striking in Pranum than any other area in Ghana. The imposition of ERP/SAP has resulted in external economic vulnerability for many families in Pranum.

As a native of Pranum and having had many years of acquaintance with the area since boyhood, I have witnessed economic changes from 1960 through to 1980, particularly in

relation to food and cash crops. Furthermore in 1982/83, I conducted research in Pranum for my M.A. dissertation.

I subsequently carried out further research in the district between October 1993 and August 1994. Upon arrival in Ghana, immediate observations were evidence enough of the stark economic problems the people face. Prices of goods were very high, and transportation likewise expensive. Nobody, I visited, was satisfied.

The main methods used in the field work were participant observation, on one hand, and self administered interviews and questionnaires, on the other. I started by giving out a questionnaire which dealt with subsistence farming, household units, economic units, the size of farms and land, farming systems, crops planted as subsistence and cash crops meant for sale; further questions were designed to elucidate farmers' budgets (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire was initially written in English and translated into Akan language and was intended to engage the farmers in debate. The interviews and discussions were usually undertaken in small groups, of around three farmers, but some times whole households took part. We were able to discuss most issues at such meetings.

I was invited by a mixed, food and cash crop farmer to participate in his farming activities. I also participated in social activities like funeral celebrations, adjudication of land cases and family disputes, as well as cases adjudicated at the Palace or through informal courts. I also took part in Domeabra Youth Association meeting on project proposals and evaluations.

Having become an active member of rural activities, I teamed up with my senior brother and a girl friend and did mixed crop farming in 1994, to learn about the improved farming techniques, farmers' knowledge, farming systems, the soil and fertility and production activities, as well as farmers' problems.

When I decided to team with my brother to do farming during my short stay in Ghana, my brother chose a farming site where he had cultivated cowpea in the previous year's farming season. I suggested to my brother we should buy fertiliser and a new maize hybrid. He opposed the fertiliser as expensive and told me that cowpea was used as a natural manure. We started in January, cultivating vegetables like aubergines (garden eggs), tomatoes and pepper seedlings. We used hand irrigation to water our nurseries. We transplanted the seedlings in early February. The first rains came in March and the seedlings started to grow very fast. After six months, in August, we started to harvest the maize and vegetable crops. The output was very good.

When I visited the District Extension Office, the Officer in charge told me some farmers had used cowpea for rotation with other crops to avoid shifting cultivation and use of fertilisers. For, after harvesting the cowpea, the land used becomes fertile for crops like maize and vegetables. He learnt this from the farmers using improved traditional farming techniques, as against those using modern farming inputs like fertilisers and new hybrids. This experience illustrates Richards' point (1985) that African

farmers do not lack scientific knowledge. All the same I became more aware about the shortcomings of outsider experts.

Before returning to St. Andrews in August 1994, I spent weeks touring the different farming villages, towns and various government offices collecting documents on ERP/SAP and agricultural innovation.

In order to familiarise myself and introduce myself to officials I spent November 1993 visiting: the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning; the Ministry of Agriculture; particularly its Extension Services Division; the Ministry of Trade and Tourism; the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development; the Ghana Cocoa Board; and the Regional ILO/FAO Offices in Accra. I further visited the Institute of Social Science and Economic Research (ISSER) and Balme Library, both at the University of Ghana. I also visited my field work area and toured a number of towns and villages in Domeabra-Owerriman Traditional Area. I visited the District Administrative Office, and The District Extension Services Officers. I also visited Nnobewom Rice Farming Irrigation Scheme.

I returned to Accra in January 1994 to interview Officials of the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, and the Ministry of Agriculture. I also conducted interviews, at the Extension Services Division, on agricultural innovation and on government policy on subsidies input. I collected publications, specifically on populations and also bulletins from Ministries with regards to SAP, particularly agriculture. An official of Ghana Cocoa Board, who was a Research Officer on Ghana cocoa productivity

and the history of Ghana cocoa industry, was also interviewed. Ministry of Trade and Tourism provided data on food imports and exports as well as cash crop - cocoa exports.

In February 1994, I returned to my study area and stayed there until April 1994. Having stayed away for the month of May, I started organising my material and certain relevant data, which had been previously omitted, were collected accordingly.

In June, I returned to Accra to write a report of my field work which was completed in the third week of July. As all university non-teaching staff in Ghana were on strike, at times there were some delays particularly when I needed certain literature or data to continue the work.

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1 AKAN: The Akans are the major ethnic group in Ghana. As a result of evolution of chiefdoms they have been sub-divided into chiefdoms. The Asante is a sub-ethnic group of Akans. The full list of Akan sub-ethnic groups is the Akwamu, Akwapem, Akyem, Asante, Aowin, Anyi, Assin, Kwawu, Bron, Nzimah and Baule and Gyaman in Ivory Coast.

2 The CLAN is composed of LINEAGES, the latter being localised, and more closely knit. The lineages can usually trace descent, in the matrilineal line, to a common ancestress and give her name. The clan is scattered all over Asante, and no single clan member can give, accurately, the list that will embrace all the

people that claim membership within it. It is enough for one to say that one belongs to the Aduana, Agona, Asenie, Asona/Asakyiri, Beretuo, Koona or Oyoko. These are the seven clans. Membership in the same clan still creates feelings of belonging together, and of intended goodwill towards one another. Members of a clan are not of one political unit. They are spread over all the Division or States of Asante in separate lineages, yet the clan has political significance, in that Chiefs of the same clan treat one another with special cordiality and tend to draw together (Busia, 1968: 85). (See Chapter Ten, Beretuo Chiefs involvement in Domeabra Chiefship).

3 Christiansborg Castle (Osu): The Office of the President.

CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION TO ASANTE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

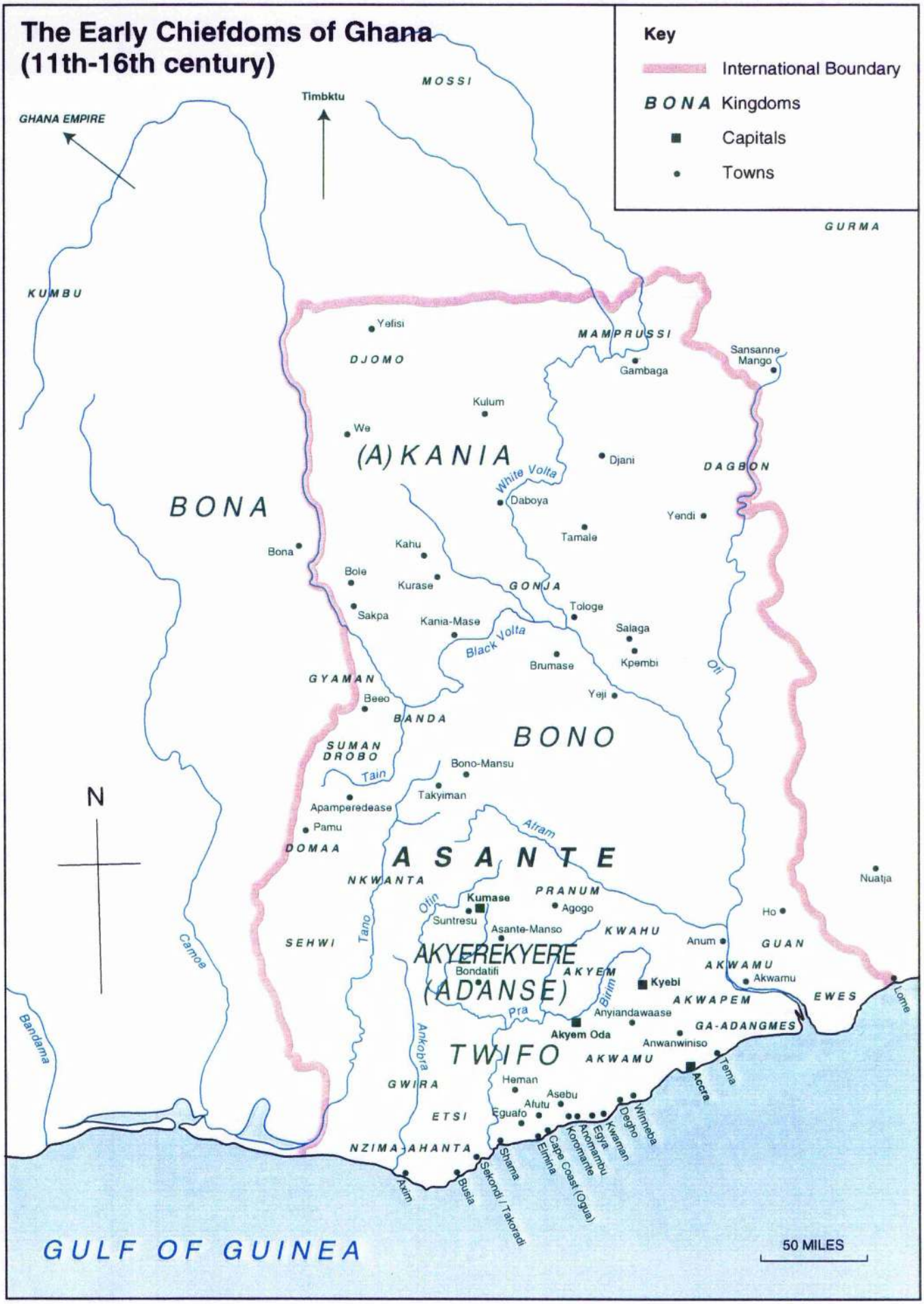
This chapter provides both the historical and ethnographic background to Akania (Akan kingdoms) and the political evolution of Asante Kingdom and economy.

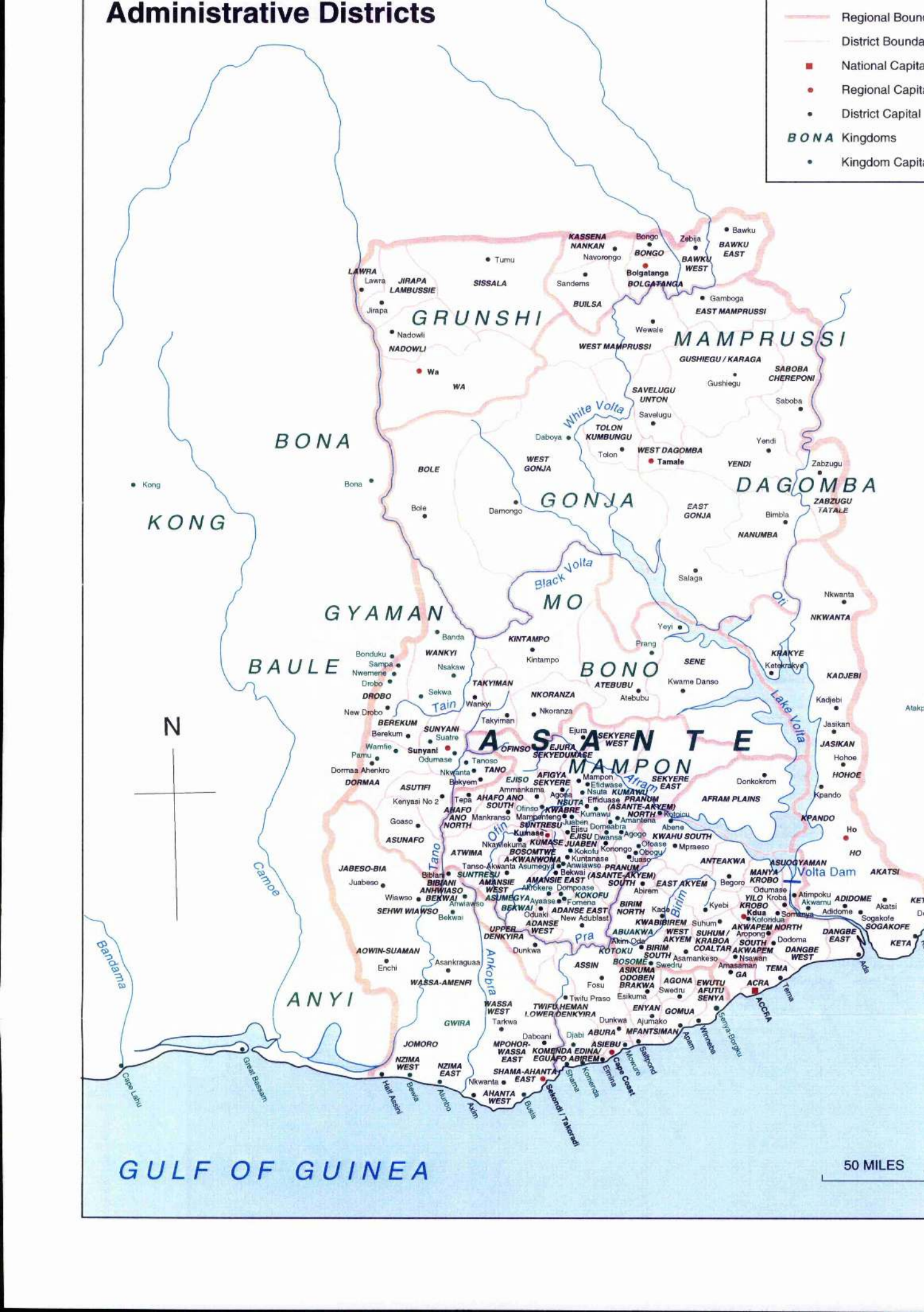
Ghana is a multi-ethnic state, the major ethnic groups being: the Akans; the Bozamfari; Ga-Adangbe; Guans; and the Ewes. The Akan people of Ghana occupied central and southern Ghana (in what are now the modern political regions of Asante and Brong-Ahafo, Eastern, Central and Western Regions). The Akans are sub-divided either by dialect or chiefdom (Map 2,3). The major groups of Akans comprise: Asante; Akyem; Akwamu; Akwapem; Assin; Agona (migrants from Asante); Denkyira; Kwahu; Fante; Sefwi; Ahanta; Anyi; Nzima; Baule (in Ivory Coast); Wassaw; and Aowin. The sub-groups of Akans (e.g. Aowin, Sefwi, Ahanta and Anyi) live in the Western Region of Ghana. They and the Bron (Bron-Ahafo Region) speak Kamina. This is a different dialect to that of the Asantes and most other groups, who speak Twi. The Fante speak Fante. All these Akan groups developed independent chiefdoms headed by Paramount Chiefs (to use the colonial and post-colonial title), with the exception of Asante Kingdom which was headed by the King of Asante - The Asantehene.

2 (i) THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOMS OF AKANIA STATE: THE AKAN KINGDOMS AND THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF THE ASANTE KINGDOM.

The development of Asante chiefdoms (states) to the present day, reflects an original dispersal of the seven basic clans to which all Asante belong. All area chiefdoms (oman) are

MAP 2


The Early Chiefdoms of Ghana
(11th-16th century)
Key
International Boundary
BONA Kingdoms
Capitals
Towns
MOSSI
Timbktu
GHANA EMPIRE
GURMA
KUMBU
Yefisi
DJOMO
MAMPRUSSI
Gambaga
Sansanne Mango
Kulum
We
(A)KANIA
Djani
DAGBON
White Volta
Daboya
Yendi
BONA
Tamale
Kahu
Bona
Bole
Kurase
GONJA
Sakpa
Kania-Mase
Tologe
Salaga
Black Volta
Brumase
Kpembi
Oti
GYAMAN
Yeji
Beeo
BANDA
BONO
SUMAN DROBO
Bono-Mansu
Tain
Takyiman
Apamperedease
Pamu
Afram
DOMAA
ASANTE
NKWANTA
PRANUM
Kumase
Agogo
Ho
Nuatja
Offin
Suntresu
Asante-Manso
KWAHU
Anum
GUAN
Tano
SEHWI
AKYEREKYERE
(ADANSE)
Bondatifi
AKYEM
Kyebi
AKWAMU
Akwamu
Birim
AKWAPEM
EWES
Lome
Pra
Anyiandawaase
Akyem Oda
GA-ADANGMES
Anwanwiniso
Ankobra
TWIFO
AKWAMU
Tema
Accra
Heman
GWIRA
Asebu
Afutu
Winneba
Degho
Egya
Kwaman
Anomambu
Koromante
Cape Coast (Ogua)
Elmina
Eguafo
ETSI
NZIMA-AHANTA
Shama
Sekondi / Takoradi
Busia
Axim
Camoe
Bandama
N
GULF OF GUINEA
50 MILES


Administrative Districts
Regional Boun
District Bounda
National Capita
Regional Capita
District Capital
BONA Kingdoms
Kingdom Capita
KASSENA NANKAN
Bongo
Zebija
BAWKU EAST
BAWKU WEST
Bawku
Navorongo
BONGO
Bolgatanga
BOLGATANGA
Tumu
LAWRA
Lawra
JIRAPA LAMBUSSIE
SISSALA
Sandema
Gamboga
EAST MAMPRUSSI
BUILSA
Jirapa
GRUNSHI
Wewale
MAMPRUSSI
Nadowli
NADOWLI
WEST MAMPRUSSI
GUSHIEGU / KARAGA
Wa
WA
SABOBA CHEREPONI
Gushiegu
SAVELUGU UNTON
Saboba
White Volta
Savelugu
TOLON KUMBUNGU
Daboya
Yendi
WEST DAGOMBA
Tolon
Tamale
YENDI
WEST GONJA
Zabzugu
BONA
BOLE
Kong
Bona
DAGOMBA
GONJA
Bole
Damongo
EAST GONJA
ZABZUGU TATALE
Bimbila
KONG
NANUMBA
Salaga
Black Volta
Nkwanta
Oti
NKWANTA
MO
GYAMAN
Yeyi
Banda
KINTAMPO
Prang
KRAKYE
Ketekrakye
Bonduku
Sampa
WANKYI
Kintampo
SENE
Nsakaw
Nwemene
Drobo
TAKYIMAN
BONO
Kwame Danso
KADJEBI
ATEBUBU
Sekwa
DROBO
Tain
Wankyi
NKORANZA
Atebubu
Kadjebi
New Drobo
Nkoranza
Lake Volta
BEREKUM
Takyiman
Jasikan
SUNYANI
Berekum
Ejura
BAULE
Suatre
ASANTE
JASIKAN
Wamfie
OFINSO
SEKYERE WEST
Sunyani
EJURA SEKYEDUMASE
Hohoe
Pamu
Odumase
Tanoso
MAMPON
Dormaa Ahenkro
Nkwanta
TANO
HOHOE
DORMAA
Bekyem
EJISO
AFIGYA SEKYERE
Mampon
SEKYERE EAST
Donkokrom
Afram
Efidwase
ASUTIFI
Ammankama
KUMAWU
Kpando
Kenyasi No 2
Tepa
AHAFO ANO SOUTH
Agona
Nsuta
AFRAM PLAINS
PRANUM
Ofinso
NSUTA
Effiduase
(ASANTE-AKYEM)
AHAFO ANO NORTH
KWABRE
Kumawu
Kotoicu
KPANDO
Goaso
Mankranso
Mampenteng
Juaben
Amantena
Ho
SUNTRESU
Ejisu
Domeabra
Abene
Olin
Kumasi
Dwansa
Agogo
KWAHU SOUTH
ASUNAFO
EJISU JUABEN
Nkawiekurna
Koforidua
Ofoase
Mpraeso
HO
ATWIMA
BOSOMTWE KWANWOMA
Kokofu
Koronga
Obogu
Kuntanase
Tano
Tanso-Akwanta
Asumegya
Anwiawso
Juaso
ANTEAKWA
ASUOGYAMAN
JABESO-BIA
PRANUM
Bekwai
(ASANTE-AKYEM)
MANYA KROBO
Volta Dam
AKATSI
Juabeso
Biblani
SUNTRESU
Akrokere
Dompoase
SOUTH
EAST AKYEM
Begoro
Odumase
BIBIANI ANHWIASO BEKWAI
AMANSIE WEST
AMANSIE EAST
Abirem
Atimpoku
ADIDOME
Wiawso
Anwiawso
ASUMEGYA
KOKOFU
Ayaase
Fomena
YILO KROBO
Kroba
Akwamu
Akatsi
Canoe
BEKWAI
ADANSE EAST
BIRIM NORTH
Kade
Kyebi
Adidome
SEHWI WIAWSO
Oduaki
New Adubiast
Birim
KWABIBIREM
Suhum
Kibi
Somanya
Sogakofe
Bekwai
ADANSE WEST
ABUAKWA
WEST AKYEM
SUHUM / KRABOA COALTAR
AKWAPEM NORTH
Aropong
Dodoma
DANGBE EAST
SOGAKOFE
Bandama
UPPER DENKYIRA
Pra
Akim Oda
BIRIM SOUTH
AKWAPEM SOUTH
KETA
AOWIN-SUAMAN
Dunkwa
KOTOKU
Asamankese
Nsawan
DANGBE WEST
Enchi
Asankraguaa
ASSIN
BOSOME
Swedru
Amasaman
TEMA
Ankobra
ASIKUMA ODOBEN BRAKWA
GA
WASSA-AMENFI
Fosu
AGONA
EWUTU AFUTU SENYA
ACRA
Esikuma
Twifu Praso
ENYAN
GOMUA
ANYI
WASSA WEST
TWIFU HEMAN LOWER DENKYIRA
Dunkwa
Ajumako
GWIRA
Tarkwa
Daboani
Djabi
ABURA
MFANTSIMAN
Apam
Winneba
Senya Bogku
JOMORO
MPOHOR-WASSA EAST
KOMENDA EDINA/ EGUAFO ABIREM
ASIEBU
Mowure
Saltpond
NZIMA WEST
NZIMA EAST
SHAMA-AHANTA EAST
Shama
Komenda
Elmina
Cape Coast
Great Biasam
Cape Lahu
Half Assini
Bewia
Aluribo
Axim
AHANTA WEST
Nkwanta
Busia
Sekondi / Takoradi
GULF OF GUINEA
50 MILES
N

considered to have been founded by a localised lineage segment (abusua) of a particular clan and are named after the first ancestor of this lineage. The Chief himself is always a member of the founding lineage. Later arrivals to the area, members of other lineages (which themselves will have founded chiefdoms in other parts), are liable to the chiefdom's administrative offices, especially the authority of its Chief (ohene). Such immigrants will be assimilated to the state through inter-marriage with members of the founding lineage. The founding lineage is named in terms of a conjunction of the first-established town and the lineage's respective clan (e.g. in my fieldwork area, Domeabra-Beretuo). The members of this lineage, within their chiefdom, constitute the chiefdom's royals.

Historians, such as Meyerowitz (1952) and Danquah (1929), claim that the Akans of Ghana and Ivory Coast were the descendants of Ghana Empire (400-1100 AD) situated in the present-day Timbuctu area. After the destruction of Ghana Empire, they migrated to present Northern Ghana (Map 3) and through political organisation, later, founded the Akania state. The state of Akania was a confederated state of Akan Chiefdoms (Meyerowitz 1952). The most notable among these chiefdoms were the Chiefdoms of Bona and Bono (Maps 2). The Oyoko clan (in later times, the Asante King's clan) founded Bono Chiefdom at Bono-Mansu (Map 3) under their king Nana[1] Asaman (1295-1325) and Queenmother Nana Ameyaa Kese (1297-1329). It was a well organised state. In 1300-1400 Bozamfari from Northern Nigeria (Adu Boahen 1964) invaded the Akania state at the river confluence of the Black Volta with the

White Volta. The effect of this invasion was disruption and dislocation which was catastrophic for the chiefdoms. The Akan clans under their respective clan leaders emigrated to found new states further south. (See Map 3).

Further south of Bono Chiefdom, on the confluence of River Pra and River Ofin, the Asona clan founded Akyerekyere Chiefdom at Bondatifi in 1480 (Meyerowitz 1952: 50, Fig. 6). The Akyerekyere dynasty was ruled by the first Chief, Nana Okai Boadi, and the Queenmother, Nana Asiriba Gyehenewa. Their royal house was to be found on the northern banks of the River Pra. Among other major clans, the Beretuo founded Ayaase Chiefdom and the Agona clan founded the Denkyira Chiefdom. These chiefdoms were located in Adanse state (1500-1600). The Aduana clan founded Twifo State at Heman on the southern banks of the River Pra, whilst another lineage group of the Aduana clan founded Wassaw. Similarly, Aduana and Oyoko clan groups founded the Asantemanso Chiefdoms of Asumegya and Kokofu near Adanse (Map 3). Meanwhile the Asenie clan founded Dompoase Chiefdom and the Koona clan founded Fomena.

With the Agona clan of the Denkyira chiefdom in Adanse state becoming more powerful than the Akyerekyere chiefdom there was resulting competition for overlordship in Adanse state. Between the years 1610-1650, the Denkyira Chief, Nana Werempe Ampem (1610-1650), seized the chiefship from the Asona. From 1690-1701, the Denkyira King, Ntim Gyakari, ruled the Akan chiefdoms of Adanse, Asantemanso, and Wassaw. He imposed laws and ruled in a dictatorial fashion. By this time, the clans had segmented into many independent lineages

each of which had developed into localised chiefdoms, with independent judicial and political administrations based on the style of earlier clans' chiefdoms. On account of numerous arbitrary demands from the Denkyirahene, dissatisfaction swelled and several clan Chiefs, along with their respective lineage Chiefs, prepared themselves for revolution (Meyerowitz 1952; Adu Boahen 1966).

The Oyoko Chiefdoms of Kwaman (Kumase), Juaben, Kokofu, Nsuta and Bekwai united under the leadership of Kumase to found the Asante State. This was the nucleus of the Akan Kingdom of Asante. Other Asante Chiefdom states (such as Mampon-Beretuo chiefdom, Asumegya-Aduana chiefdom, Kumawu-Aduana chiefdom and Ofinso-Asona chiefdom) became independent chiefdoms (states) in their own right (the first term of these hyphenated names refers to the locality or town, the second term refers to the respective clan (Map 3).

A period of inter-state war was to follow which weakened the Asante. They were subsequently conquered by Denkyira. Once again they served Denkyira state and paid regular tribute. By this time the king of Kwaman (Kumase) was Nana Obiri Yeboa. He advocated a united front of all Asante states in order that they might free themselves from bondage. At this time, Okomfo (okomfo, priest) Yamoa, Chief and priest of Agona[2] Chiefdom (founded by an Asenie lineage), advised Nana Obiri Yeboa to call a meeting between all the Asante states to promote unity. At the meeting, they unanimously agreed and formed the confederated states of Asante. They appointed Obiri Yeboa as their leader, or King. Whilst the confederation was still being established, Dorma State, very

close to Kumase, on hearing of the unity, independently of the Denkyira, waged war on the confederacy and defeated them. The following allied Chiefs died - Nana Obiri Yeboa Of Kwaman, Okomfo Yamoa of Agona and Dwamena Akenten of Ofinso. Although defeated, the Asante confederacy were gaining some measure of the problems presented by Asante unification.

2 (ii) THE BEGINNING OF ASANTE KINGDOM

Nana Osei Tutu (in power, 1697-1718), succeeded Nana Obiri Yeboa as the Chief of Kwaman state, later known as Kumase state. During his enstoolment[3] he promised the people that under his leadership he would unite the Asante states. At the same time, Nana Okomfo Anokye (alias Antwi-Agyei Frimpong) succeeded his senior brother, Okomfo Yamoa of Agona. Nana Osei Tutu was helped in his plans of unification by Okomfo Anokye. According to oral tradition Okomfo Anokye invoked a Golden Stool from the skies which descended on to the lap of Nana Osei Tutu (Edgerton, 1995: 21). This was taken to mean that he had been chosen by the ancestors and the gods as the unquestionable king of kings of the Asante nation. Osei Tutu took an oath of allegiance to the Golden Stool and the Chiefs, and the Chiefs in turn, took an oath of allegiance to Nana Osei Tutu - never to raise arms against the Golden Stool. The Golden Stool is the most powerful and sacred symbol in Asante culture. It signified the beginning of Asante kingdom, with the King as head of Asante supported by his territorial Chiefs, whom the British Colonial Administration, centuries later, were to recognise as Paramount Chiefs (Amanhene - Aman, states hene, chief). Nana

Osei Tutu was therefore the first King of Asante Kingdom (Osei Kwadwo, 1994: 1-6).

The following two hundred years can be characterised as a period in which there were numerous conflicts and political re-negotiations as new states emerged from and challenged existing status quos. Their main aim, in forming a confederated state was to defend their chiefdoms. The name Asante itself came about from the literal saying, 'because of war - Osa nti'.

The Asante confederated states, with the solicited help of the Beretuo chiefship of Mampon under their Chief Amaninampon, fought and defeated Denkyira. The Denkyira fled and founded a new chiefship at Jokwa, South Adanse State. In 1660-1680, the Adanse (Akyerekyere) dynasty gained independence as a territorial Chiefdom under the Asenie dynasty Chief - Ewurade Basa. He changed the name of the dynasty from Akyerekyere to Adanse (Map 2, 3).

At that time, the Beretuo Chiefdom of Ayaase was run under the leadership of Appianin Kwaframoa. When Ewurade Basa died in 1680, he was succeeded by Nana Akura Furupa. Ayaasehene Appianin Kwaframoa seized power and proceeded to make the Ayaase Stool the most prominent in the Adanse Chiefdom. All these coups and counter coups for political supremacy caused disruptions and dislocations resulting in the migration of clans, under their lineage heads, to more remote forest areas which were subsequently cleared and farmed.

During the Asante war with the Denkyira, the Asona Stool, in the name of deceased Chief Kuntunkunuku, supported

the Denkyira. The Asona, under the new leader, Owusu Akyem Tenten, along with a branch of the Agona lineage of Denkyira, fled from Adanse to found new chiefdoms in Pranum. They were referred to as Akyems[4]. During the establishment of the Asante kingdom there were civil wars in numerous Akan chiefdoms as both territorial boundaries and overlordship were established (Kwabiah 1974; Osei Kwadwo 1994 [see Map 3]).

2 (iii) THE NEW AKAN CHIEFDOMS

The migrants from Adanse (stemming from its internal struggles) founded new chiefdoms. For example, the Oyoko lineages founded the chieftaincies of Kumase, Kokofu, Juaben, Nsuta and Bekwai, whilst the Beretuo lineages founded the chiefdoms of Mampon, Apaaso, Efidwase, Gyamase (all in Mampon area), Abene (in Kwahu area), Amoafo, Adankrangya (both in Bekwai area), Baworo (Kumase area) and Ofoase (Pranum area). Numerous other examples could be given. As the Akan chiefdoms were being established, the Aduana chiefdom at Twifo Heman State rose in prominence (Adu Boahen, 1966). As a result of population pressure and inter-state disputes, the Twifo Aduana Kingdom under their King, Nana Otumfo Asare, led his people towards the Eastern Region of Ghana to found the Akwamu State. As a result of the subsequent war with the Akwamu state, the Akwamus under their King Nana Ansa Saseraku (1585-1600), founded a new Akwamu State south of River Volta. Over this period, many Aduana lineages founded new states such as Domma (Dorma), in the Suntresu suburbs of Kumase. As a result of war with the Asante, the Domma Aduana founded new Domma Chiefdoms in Bono and Gyaman. The other Aduana lineages

founded: Esumegya; Kumawu; Kwaman (near Kumawu); Agogo (in Pranum); Amantena (also in Pranum); and Wassaw.

Those Akan migrants who founded states further from the coast, in the present Central and Western Regions, developed the independent chiefdoms (Map 3) of Assin, Fante, Sefwi, Nzima and Anyi (in Ivory Coast). All these Akan Chiefdoms became part of the Asante Kingdom.

2 (iv) THE OFFICE OF CHIEFSHIP AND THE LINEAGE

As written in the Asante or Akan Constitution (Rattray 1929; Wilks 1975), an Asante local state (chiefdom) is headed by a Chief (Ohene). An incumbent Chief is elected from the respective royal lineage[5] whose members are eligible by the right of royal birth, established on the basis of matrilineal descent to a known ancestress and ancestor. Their consecrated stools, called 'Black Stools', give legal authority to the matrilineal descent group in which the authority of office of chiefship is vested. The Chief (Ohene) is supported by a royal female (Ohemma - Queenmother[6]) from the same royal lineage. Just as the Chief is associated with his Stool (a male Stool), she is associated with a corresponding female Stool.

The office of chiefship is supported by a powerful executive council of State, consisting of Elders (mpaninfo; opanin, singular), now known by the colonial term wing-chiefs (Asafohene). Elders (Wing-chiefs) are honoured local (e.g. village or town) heads within a chiefdom, commonly related to the Chief by marriage or historical association, who filled the role of military captain in the time of Asante wars. Such

wing-chiefs, coming from non-royal lineages within the chiefdom, effectively represent, in the council, the voices of people outside the royal lineage. The notion, wing-chief, signals, however, that the Chief proper has honoured them with royal status (with a corresponding Stool) within their particular lineage.

The people within a chiefdom who are neither Chiefs or Elders are the commoners (Nkwankwa). The Nkwankwa have their own head called Nkwankwahene, and are usually politically active. This complex constitutional organisation embodied in the chiefship hierarchy is evident at every level of the Asante polity, be it the entire nation (headed by the King), the state capital, or the level of the town or village. (See Domeabra-Owerriman Local Administration, Chapter 6).

2 (v) THE STOOL (AKONWA)

The Stool is the throne or crown (in the English sense). As symbols of authority, there are Stools corresponding to every level of chiefship. The Stool of the King of Asante is the Golden Stool. According to McLeod, a Stool is linked with the personality and spiritual state of its owner and is cleaned before any major ritual involving an individual or household, such as the national adae[7] rituals (McLeod 1981: 113). Rattray indicated that certain designs of Stool were restricted to particular ranks or roles within Asante society. Some were specifically carved for the exclusive use of the Asantehene and were never sold (Rattray 1927: 272-273; McLeod 1981: 114). The Asante chiefship hierarchy is symbolised in terms of Stools, in the form of one shallow Stool on top of another

(related as obi-te -obi-so Stools, i.e. someone on top of someone else (McLeod 1981: 115).

When a new Chief is enthroned, a special Stool (white stool) is made for him. Once someone is installed as a Chief, he is forbidden to touch the earth with his bare feet or to sit on the ground as such contact between the body and the earth (asase yaa) is considered polluting. On his death, this special Stool of the deceased Chief is consecrated by sacrificing a sheep and the presentation of gold at a ceremony in Werempe[8]. The consecrated stool then becomes known as a Black Stool (Akonwa Tuntum), named after the deceased Chief and stored with the other ancestral Stools. The black Stools form the tangible basis of ancestral worship. The ancestors are regarded as the 'holy men' who act as intermediaries between the living and the gods. The Asante make a "basic" distinction between plain white Stools and blackened ancestral Stools(McLeod 1981: 116)[9].

Blackened Stools connote honour and respect. People talk about the number of blackened Stools, in any political unit, in relation to successful leaders now recognised as ancestors. An incumbent Chief pours libations, and makes offerings and prayers at his predecessors' Stools on behalf of the population he represents[10]. The greatest and most famous Stool is the Golden Stool (Sika Dwa Kofi). This Stool is believed both to incorporate the spirit (sunsum) of the Asante nation and to symbolise its unity (McLeod 1981: 117). There are other symbolic chairs, the most common of which is called asipim, given by the Asantehene (King) to a Chief whom the King has especially honoured. Senior and Paramount Chiefs

have the right to these Stools. As stated earlier, the office of the King, as supreme authority, is bound up with the Golden Stool. McCaskie (1995) discusses the significance of this royal regalia at some length, noting that, "at the crucial historical moment in the state's formation - all pre-existing symbols of authority were ritually destroyed, buried or otherwise put aside." (McCaskie 1995: 127).

2 (vi) THE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE KINGDOM

Ivor Wilks (1975) presents a discussion of Asante bureaucracy, based on the Asante kingship/chiefship hierarchy, wherein (drawing upon the work of Max Weber) he demonstrates a similarity between traditional Asante and modern (Western) styles of bureaucracy. The Asante chiefship constitution does not give the Asantehene direct authority in the internal affairs of the Territorial Chiefs who have, on the whole, independent authority over their councils of state. Any given case could only be sent to the King or Asanteman Council after all attempts have been made to resolve the dispute within the division. However, the Territorial Chiefs had the support of the Asante Army in times of internal crisis (see also Rattray 1929; Busia 1952/68).

In the capital, Kumase, was a hierarchy of palace officials, their offices being linked to the Metropolitan Asante Divisions as well as to the Provincial States. Numerous offices were located throughout the Provinces, for example there were Resident Commissioners in Accra-Osu, Ada, Akuapem-Akropong, Elmina, Akyem, Wassaw etc. There were also

Asante government offices of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Trade (called Domakwa, Gyasewa and Bata respectively). Asante pre-colonial war generals, later titled wing-chiefs, were organised according to seniority and worked in pairs during times of war. Some features of this organisation can still be recognised in contemporary political organisation (Rattray 1929; Ivor Wilks 1975). Among the main Wing-Chiefs (including the scouts and the advance guard) were the Krontihene (Bantamahene, Kumase, Koona) Adontenhene (Asenie clan of Kumase); the right-half wing: Juaben, Kokofu, Bekwai (all oyoko clan) ; right or Nifa: Mamponhene (Beretuo clan), Adanse/ Fomena (Koona), Nkoranza (Asenie), Ofinso (Asona), Ejisu (Asona); The left-half wing: Nsuta (Oyoko), Dorma (Aduana); the left wing or Benkum: Asumegya and Kumawu (all Aduana clan); the rear guard or Kyidom of Kumase (prince's Stool), Ankaase (Asenie), Domakwa (Beretuo) (Busia 1968: 90). In each of these offices were a number of sub-officials with designated roles and responsibilities. The King controlled all these appointments. Formerly, the majority of these officials were military commanders[11]. Thus, traditionally, wealth was not only the basis of leadership. An individual's contribution to the state in times of war is remembered, presaging strong leadership in times of catastrophe.

When a new King is enstooled (crowned) he swears the oath of loyalty to the Asanteman (Asante state), the Paramount Chiefs and The Kumase Divisional Council by promising to be obedient to the laws and customs of the nation and to follow the right path of his predecessors. This is the Great Oath (ntam kese). Likewise, Paramount Chiefs,

Senior Chiefs and the Councillors swear an oath of allegiance to the King after their own local enstoolments.

The tribunal of the King was the final court of appeal by which all Chiefs and citizens had the right of transferring the Great Oath (ntam kese). In the 'Division', cases of importance get moved from a judicial level of hierarchy to the Paramount or Senior Chief's Tribunal. In the 1969 Constitution, the Regional and National House of Chiefs was created.

2 (vii) THE BEGINNING OF COLONISATION OF ASANTE KINGDOM

In March 1891, the British sent an officer to Kumase to invite the Asantehene to place his country under British protection. King Prempeh I rejected this invitation politely but firmly, saying 'My Kingdom of Asante will never commit itself to any such policy. Asante must remain independent as of old, at any time to be friendly with all white men. I do not write this with a boastful spirit but in the clear sense of its meaning.' (Asantehene, King Agyeman Prempeh 1, March 1891, Kumase, Asante).

By 1895, the British Governor of the Gold Coast, William Maxwell, decided to place the Asante Kingdom under British Crown rule. His conditions were not acceptable to the Asantehene. The Governor persuaded some territorial Chiefs to trust in British protection, terming them Divisional Chiefs. On 17th January 1895, he sent an army of 1,322 whites and 1,800 blacks, most of whom were Hausas from Northern Nigeria, to Kumase. The Asante, aware that the British had more sophisticated weapons made ready to surrender. The Governor

however now insisted that the Asantehene pay 50,000 ounces of gold. The king was ready to pay 600 ounces of gold, which was equivalent to 2000 pounds sterling. This, however, was not acceptable to the Governor. He arrested and deported the Asantehene, along with some Chiefs, wives and attendants, numbering 56 people in all, first to Sierra Leone and finally, in 1897, to the Seychelle Islands. In 1901, Asante became a British Protectorate (Osei Kwadwo, 1994).

2 (viii) THE ASANTE NATIONAL (ASANTEMAN) COUNCIL

As stated earlier the founding Asante States were Kumase, Mampon, Adanse, Juaben, Esumegya, Kokofu, Kumawu, Nsuta, and Bekwai. During the early expansion of the kingdom, the following states were also incorporated into the metropolitan Asante: Nkoranza, Ofinso, Takyiman, Wankyi, Drobo, Gyaman, Berekum, Mo and Banda. There were, therefore, a total of seventeen states. The territorial Chiefs of Pranum and Ahafo were directly placed under Kumase, whereas the conquered Akan States some distance away from Kumase remained as provinces. These provinces were Akyem, Assin, Akwamu, Atebubu, Akwapem, Denkyira, Fanti, Krakye, Twifu and Wassaw (Map 3). In 1844 the British signed a protectorate agreement with the coastal chiefdoms which included the provinces of Asante.

After 1896, the British administration recognised the indigenous political system, maintained it and took or sold their resources (see Crowder, 1968). This was the beginning of 'Political Dualism' whereby indigenous and colonial administration function in parallel (see Chapter 3).

The Asante confederacy came to an end when the kingdom was colonised, in 1901. In 1935, the Asante confederacy was restored with a new name - The Asanteman (-man -state) Council (see Appendix 3) with the King of Asante as the de facto ruler. Twenty one traditional Territorial Chiefs[12], corresponding to the main Asante states, and some Senior Chiefs were recognised as members of the Council and titled Paramount Chiefs (Amanhene), with the Territorial Chiefs' areas being designated a 'Division' (Oman - state). Each Division had a Divisional or Traditional Council with its respective Paramount Chief as President.

In the Asanteman Council, The Kumase Division maintained its politically prominent position, with the King of Kumase Chiefdom, from the Oyoko clan, as the acknowledged King of Asante Nation (Asanteman). He is the Asante-King (the Asante-Ohene, that is Asantehene) and the supreme head of the Asanteman.

2 (ix) ASANTE KINSHIP STRUCTURE

Among the Asante, ideas of matriliny are inseparable from notions of kinship and lineage organisation. The Asante lineage (abusua) is basically a localised subdivision of a dispersed clan. In describing the traditional lineage structure of Asante, Fortes (1950) argues that Asante lineages are segmentarily differentiated. Even though Asante lineages are segmented but it exists as a notion. For this is due to economic restrictions and fair distribution of resources. The components decent notion keeps the sub-lineages together under one founding ancestors. This may

mislead people because Asante segmentations are not characterised by an acephalous political structure. Thus, whenever lineages are dislocated, its components continue to be committed to an administrative centralised structure. The issue concerning segmentary differentiation, in the case of the Asante, relates, primarily, to economic matters to do with the equal distribution of the communal (lineage) estate among component segments (sub-lineages). An ideal assumption made in respect of such segmentary differentiation supposes a balance of economic power and wealth within the broader group.

Thus the Asante lineage (abusua) is further differentiated into sub-lineage groups (efie), of about six generations, which discharge family administrative matters and hold lineage land for day-to-day-use. The integrity of the sub-lineage matri-unit means that related sub-lineages are not obliged to accommodate one another in respect of unequal increases of their respective female descendants. In this way, competition for land between sub-lineages is much restricted. In matters of politics, where there is competition for high office (state Chief, lineage head) relating to the broader lineage, the sub-lineages (under the efie panin) constitute major political interest groups.

The key point, in this context, however, is that, in terms of jural rights and political authority, the lineage as a whole is conceptualised as a person: unity is pursued with regard to internal relations of its members. There is a popular saying, 'Nnua nyinaa sisi ho, se wogyina akyi a eye baako, nanso wopin ho a ebiara siho baako baako'. That is

when one is at a distance from a group of plantation of trees, one sees them as one but when one draws very close to them they are seen as standing separately.

Any lineage which was first to settle on uninhabited land and founded a hamlet, was, by Asante custom, proclaimed the founder of that hamlet, town or chiefdom and receives jural rights as a royal (see citizenship, Chapter 3). Individuals who subsequently marry into the founding lineage are given or accorded the status of wing-chief. Those remaining at 'home' may later leave to join those lineage members who had founded a new township. Thus, the ancestor of the lineage is regarded as having been the first person to have founded and occupied the Stool and the land in the ancient times (efiri tete).

Following McCaskie (1995), it should be understood that whilst the Asante state was expansionist, the authority of the ruling lineage was constantly being challenged. It was in this context that new states were, at times, founded. The traditional roles of the early lineage and the later arrivals however would usually be differentiated on the basis of their jural rights, as I will now exemplify with reference to Domeabra, the area where I conducted fieldwork, whose royal lineage (from the Beretuo clan) was closely linked to the founding lineage of Abene, a town some forty miles away. For many generations, Abene Beretuo royals who had come to live in Domeabra shared everything in common with Domeabra Beretuo royals with the exception of chiefship. A time came (1880), however, when one (Kwaku Agyekum) of the Abene Beretuo royals felt it was his jural right to contest Domeabra Stool. The

Domeabra Beretuo royals refused to extend royal jural rights to Abene Beretuo. As a result of what he considered to be discrimination, Kwaku Agyekum emigrated from Domeabra to found his own village, Aweregya, two miles from Domeabra.

According to McLeod, the basis of Asante social organisation at the village level was, and is, the localised matrilineage (abusua)[13]. The abusua is supposed to be united by having a common blood (mogya) which is passed from women to their children (McLeod 1981: 18; Busia 1951/68). Abusua members are headed by a senior man or elder (abusua panin) and a senior woman (obaa panin). The lineage head and the sub-lineage heads (efie panin) exercise control over the members of the lineage. The lineage will often hold rights in a particular village, town or chiefship, as well as rights in areas of land. As a corporate group, the lineage works together to acquire resources. Leadership positions and lineage property are effectively passed down from maternal uncles to sister's son (McLeod 1981: 18-19).

In a somewhat similar fashion, sublineage ('house or family house'[14] the original house which was the residence of the sub-lineage ancestress) heads exercise control over their sub-lineage members. Once again, matrilineal rights are emphasised, the strength of the sub-lineage being realised most particularly in the organisation of ceremonies surrounding death. The deceased are buried at the royal (i.e. lineage) cemetery (mausoleum). On these occasions, many people from the community unite to perform appropriate rites.

Among the Asante, clan membership might sometimes be acquired through foreign or alien marriage. For example, if a

man marries a woman from non-Akan patrilineal society, e.g. Ga-Adangbe or Dagomba, the children become the legal property of the man. This is because, in the terms of the mother's society, the children belong to the father's family, sons traditionally inheriting from their fathers. Often, the resulting settlement is for the children to become assimilated into man's matrilineal clan. But, if, in a given locality, this clan is manifest as a royal lineage, care is taken not to give incomers royal rights of inheritance. The great numbers of foreign born slaves, in eighteenth and nineteenth century Asante, who came from the northern savannahs of Ghana, were assimilated in this way. The generic Asante name for them was nnonkofoo (sing. odonko). This differentiation, between original and assimilated clan members, is maintained in the distinction between the Asante who are the superior 'right' (nifa) and the assimilated lineage members who are inferior 'left' (benkum-abusua) (McCaskie 1995: 99).

The Asante people believe that certain spiritual powers, entailing dietary and behavioural prohibitions, are passed patrilineally. This implicates all Asante in patrilineal associations called ntoro (Mcleod 1981: 19), which Fortes (1950) describes as a metaphysical concept central to the Asante theory of human personality and its connection to the broader political order. Nton means soul and is traced over three generations of males most commonly from father to son. The nton are associated with rivers, lakes and the sea and each nton has totemic animal. They are regarded as the children of rivers from which they derive their spirit. If

one wants to know which of the nton or ntoro group one belongs to, the question to be asked is: "In which nton do you wash"? Whilst there are seven matrilineal clans, there are twelve principal named nton or ntoro groups.

It is told, in legendary lore, that, after creation, domankoma (Nature) went far into the sky and left seven of his sons on earth to take care of man. If man needed anything it would be passed through any of the seven sons of God to him. These seven sons were Tano, Bia, Bosompra, Bosomtwe, Bosomuru, Bosomafram and Bosompo. From an esoteric point of view, the names of these seven sons are associated with seven agents of the River Spirit and reside in water: Tano in river Tano; Bia in river Bia; Bosompra in river Pra; Bosomtwe in Lake Bosomtwe; Bosomuru in river Birem; Bosomafram in river Afram; and Bosompo or Bosom-Nketia in the Sea. Bosom means god (plural abosom) (E. K. Braffi 1992: 9-11). Another ntoro group is Bosombram Abankwade, and there are further minor groups.

Members of each and every ntoro/nton shared in common certain indispensable features that both defined the specificity of that particular group and described the context(s) of ascribed patrilineal belonging in it. Thus, every ntoro had its own particular salutation and response (nnyesoo); its own register of avoidances and taboos (akyiwadee generally things that might not be touched, harmed, eaten, etc.); its own totems (akrammoa: sing. akraboa - animals that were sacred to the members of the ntoro: of course, these were also akyiwadee); and, most crucially, its own specific observance day (kra da) (MacCaskie 1995: 170).

The Akans believe that the soul of a child is controlled by the father's soul. The soul in Akan is the spiritual essence of any human being and that the soul of a child is linked up with that of the soul of the father. The father could bless or curse his child. Whilst the child has the blood of the mother the father's soul controls the child. As well as matrilineal commitments, a child (son or daughter) does not become detached from their father, as that would result in spiritual catastrophe. They have the same food restrictions (Rattray 1911: 68). Since the introduction of Christianity (about 1830) there has been little adherence to these restrictions.

In terms of chiefship, for any candidate to become, for example Asantehene, in addition to being necessarily royal in terms of matriliny, it was also preferential, or ideal, (but not necessary) that he be the paternal grandson of a previous Asantehene (McCaskie 1995: 173). This goes some way to explaining the Asante preference for cross-cousin marriage. According to McCaskie, arrangements of this type were grounded in the broader belief and social understanding that cross-cousin marriage offered the most propitious opportunity for fathering a kra pa or 'ideal (re)incarnation' of a famous ancestor. Therefore, a celebrated grandfather - to take the closest genealogical relationship - might be reborn in his paternal grandson (McCaskie 1995: 173). In this sense matriliny can be considered as a succession of men traced through women who are subsequently forgotten. Even though patrilineal descent in terms of ntoro membership is in this

sense preferable this group has no jural right in the selection of a Asantehene or any Chief (McCaskie 1995: 175).

McCaskie discusses the political significance of nton, especially by reference to the fact that, upon the death of a Chief those who compete for succession, although they will be from the same matrilineage, will be members of different ntoro groups. The ideal is that the succession will come from the same ntoro group as the deceased (McCaskie 1995: 167).

For Asante, the individual human being is composed of four essential elements or constituents. These are the kra, the sunsum, the mogya and the ntoro/nton (ibid. 1995: 167-168). I have mentioned mogya (blood)[15] and ntoro[16] already, as respectively matrilineal and patrilineal notions. Kra, meaning human essence or 'soul', which was given directly by God (Onyame), and sunsum (spirit)[17] were non-human in origin. Sunsum has been described as a spiritual aura around an individual. It is said that the soul and sunsum of a child is influenced by the mother's blood (McCaskie 1995: 167).

Understanding of this categorisation of individual human beings, into four essential elements, remains debatable and further research would be useful. In my opinion the ntoro or nton connotes the sharing of kra by specific groups. Moreover, the sunsum does not constitute a different component of the body. Rather, it is the spiritual power which each soul, or kra, possesses. Some Asante believe that through reincarnation a soul becomes spiritually more powerful. It is also believed that men with religious powers pass on this ability to their sons.

Witchcraft is considered an evil power passed on to a child either at birth or during early childhood. It is generally believed to be women that have such power. Witchcraft is considered a negative spiritual power which Asantes differentiate from the power of the soul. They call witchcraft power sunsun bone (bad or evil spiritual power).

2 (x) RESIDENCE

In the past (pre-1960), the Asante commonly practised divided residence. The man stayed in his matri-house whilst the wife continued to stay with her parents or in her matri-house. This matri-house, effectively a segment of a sub-lineage, was a big compound house accommodating about four to six family units. Food was conveyed to the husband's house (Fortes 1969). Since 1960, virilocal residence has become more common corresponding with the fact that the majority of men would prefer their wives to stay with them. They have, however, to provide a standard of living comparable with, or better than, the girl's mother's house. Today, most married couples live together independently in nuclear family houses and this is referred to as the Asante ideal house (obarima ne neyere fie).

These days, divided residence persists in some cases, and some influential wives and mothers-in-law try to draw the man closer to their side of the family. For example, the wife may not take food to her husband's family house and may prevent the man from fully meeting his matri-family responsibilities. Women may also try and use their husband's financial resources to further their own matri-family

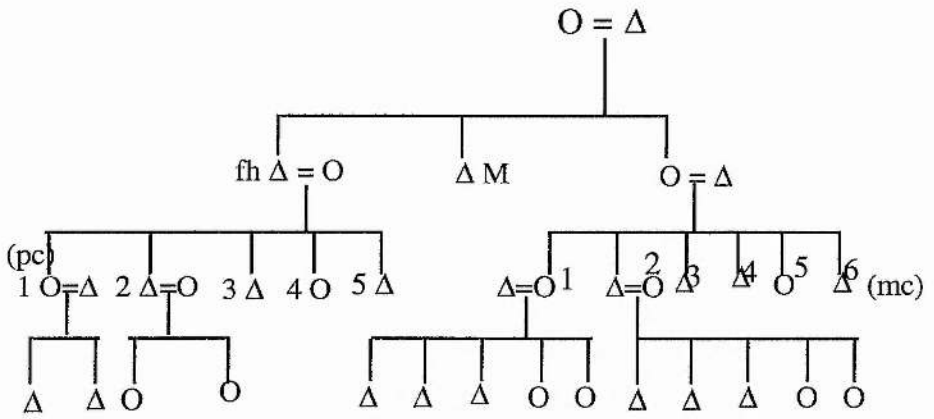
interests. If the man is put in this position, he is often regarded by his matri-family as '<u>kunkoa</u>' (literally, slave to the wife). If the man is in a good economic position, then he can avoid facing this predicament. In its broadest terms marriage among the Asante can be considered a negotiation between a man, a woman and that woman's matri-family, in particular her mother who may become an influential figure in their lives.

When a woman does live with her husband, in a nuclear family house, if there are any future economic problems or complaints from the wife her husband could suffer strong sanctions from his matri-family by way of scolding or reprimand. Alternatively, there are mothers of some women who accept the daughter and her husband as daughter and son and this can lead to joint residence of the young couple in the mother's matri-house. In yet another case, if the woman's father has a house, built by himself, and his matri-family[18] is staying with him, it is easy to accommodate the daughter and husband since no reference has to be made to a matri-family.

Where there is a traditional matrilocal residence, where the family (sub-lineage) head is married and has grown up children and the sisters children (matri-nephew and nieces) are all married, there are often conflicts over the allocation and utilisation of the sub-lineage landed estate. Such conflicts arise when the family head (fh) and his patri-children (pc) are using the greater part of such communal lands to the disadvantage of the matri-family. If this conflict is allowed to develop, without a solution by the

lineage head, the matri-children (mc) can ask for the resignation of the family head (fh). Matri and patri-families constitute different interest groups (see genealogy 2). Conflicts are often between men arguing over the management of resources which are talked about in terms of women.

GENEALOGY 2: MATRI VERSUS PATRI FAMILIES



fh-family head; pc = numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are patri-children.

mc- matri-children 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

In Asante society today, the sub-lineage head will try to get all members of the sub-lineage to co-operate in building a befitting matri-family house in honour of the mother or the grandmother. Yet, for day-to-day living, it is expected that the husband provides accommodation. If such a goal is achieved, the matri-house is left for the old and those who cannot provide better accommodation. Alternatively, where the wife has a high income and would like to provide a house for her own parents or mother and her sisters, she does

so. The irony in this socio-economic change in Asante society today, is that some wives will like to see their brothers and sisters co-operate to build a befitting modern house for the mother, whilst, at the same time, wish that their own house could be improved.

2 (xi) MATRILINEAL INHERITANCE

Asante inheritance is based on the matrilineal system (Busia 1968: 125). There are two main types of inheritance: the first, the inheritance of a deceased person's personal (self-acquired) property; the second, inheritance to chiefship office. Also, when someone dies, he or she, as a person, must be inherited by virtue of Asante belief in the continuity between the living and the dead. Asante believe the souls of the deceased to be agents who can affect people's lives. As for land, this, according to the Asante, belongs to the ancestors and is held corporately by the sub-lineage (Busia 1968: 42-43). However, a senior male member of the sub-lineage must be designated as 'caretaker' (manager) of the land, and this position is also inherited.

When a person dies, whether he has property or not as a member of a matrilineal 'communal' society, there will be someone who will inherit from the deceased. In the context of the matrilineage, a man inherits from a man, a woman from a woman. Through Asante customary law, if there are no brothers and sisters, nephews and daughters inherit from their uncles and mothers respectively. For, when a person dies, the first people considered eligible as heirs are the deceased person's siblings but, if his or her generation have all since passed

away, the next generation of nephews and daughters will be considered. The choice can also be made from the uterine line of descendants.

If the deceased has substantial self-acquired landed property (property acquired by the individual outside the family estate), or if he is the designated caretaker of the family estate, it is hoped that a competent person will inherit. Good management of the estates is essential. In the nomination of an heir, the elderly women (matri-grandmothers or senior mothers) and the patri-children nominate somebody through a reconstituted lineage council headed by the lineage head (abusua panin) and supported by the sub-lineage heads (efie panin - sing. ; efie-mpaninfo - pl.). It is hoped that the patri-children will choose a responsible and unselfish heir who will treat the deceased's children like his own. At times, if there is a need, an experienced relative will be appointed as regent or 'nominal' heir usually in the interests of the uterine group. However, conflict can arise when a matri-cousin is chosen as the most suitable person to inherit the role of caretaker of the sub-lineage lands. This normally corresponds with the division of the estate between respective groups of siblings, yet the caretaker may continue to uphold a right to manage the erstwhile estate.

2 (xii) ACCESS TO POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP

In Asante society, access to political office is restricted to particular groups of people who, through having been born into a family with appropriate lineage status, are in a position to contest political office. A Chief (Ohene) and his

matri-female counterpart, the Queenmother (Ohemma) are at the apex of the traditional political, jural administration. The Chief is supported by councillors or as they are popularly called, Elders, wing or sub-chiefs (Busia 1968: 7-9). These representatives are honoured by a Chief on the basis of their forefathers' contributions to the community. There is a popular saying among the Asantes (or Akans) that everybody is a royal in his domain and a slave in alien land, that is, within a chiefdom there are those who belong to the founding lineage and are therefore recognised as members of the royal lineage. Similarly, within a chiefdom, members of other, particular, lineages have respective statuses as wing-chief. Living outside of their chiefdom or country, they lose such rights.

When a Stool (throne) becomes vacant as a result of destoolment or death, the royal lineage looks for possible successors from the lineage, ideally the most outstanding royal with the talents required to represent the 'family'. There is a popular saying among the Akans, "Onyame na osi hene" (literally, it is God who makes someone a Chief), which is often interpreted along the lines that God legitimates the position setting it in a, supposedly, natural order of events. The traditional qualities of a would-be Chief do not include material wealth. It is supposed that, with wisdom, he could mobilise the financial support of the matri-family, this being traditionally represented as the relationship between sika mena (elephant's tail - symbolising wealth) and Sika Dwa Kofi (the Golden Stool - symbolising political authority and legitimate power) (McCaskie 1995: 48).

In the modern Ghanaian context, money has become so important that wealthy individuals, without appropriate qualities of leadership, have been able to attain political office. Most wealth today is accumulated overseas by migrant workers. Migrants working in both Germany and America claim residency rights abroad whilst also retaining citizenship in Ghana. They are thus legally entitled to return to Ghana to contest political office. There were serious chieftaincy disturbances at Ofoase when the incumbent Chief died and the position was challenged by a 'bürger' (a Ghanaian migrant claiming to be a German citizen). A similar incident took place at Dwansa when the Queenmother's nomination was furiously challenged by a Ghanaian-American resident. In both cases, the Queenmother and the Elders refused to be bought by German marks and American dollars. (See Chapter 10, Nomination on account of money).

Obviously royal birth alone is not sufficient reason to be nominated for the throne (Stool). A would-be Chief should be able to combine traditional administration with modern state administration. He should be both well educated and well versed in political and administrative matters. Most importantly, he should command respect among his people particularly the royal sub-lineage (the deceased Chief's matri-family). For they are the first people to recommend him for nomination. He should also have a good relationship with the commoners, because during the nomination period it is the commoners who shall give accounts of his behaviour and leadership qualities. In some cases, the occupant of the Stool could recommend to the Queenmother (Ohemma) that when

he dies such and such a 'matri- brother' or 'matri-nephew' should succeed him. Today, it is expected that a Chief be politically mature and demonstrate his ability to lead or initiate development projects in the area under his jurisdiction. He should also be able to work with the state administrative body to lobby for government and non-governmental finances.

An appropriate personality is worth more than great riches. For, to the Asantes, 'Ohene' remains the model of social achievement, contrasting, for example, with the Fantes, among whom, it is the, apparently, well-educated person, living and behaving like a 'gentleman', who is the model of social excellence (Kwame Arhin 1983: 2). A millionaire is not viewed by Asantes to have greater social status than a Chief. Individual contributions towards development projects are however very recommendable and such persons could be accorded wing-chief status, for example, 'Progress Chief' (Nkosohene).

Ascendants to political positions can be considered corrupt to varying degrees. Ideally, there will be strong majority support for a nominee. If a royal, through corrupt practices, 'buys a Stool' he is regarded as a usurper and given little or no respect. When through rightful customary process a royal is nominated as a Chief-elect, it is an honour, for many royals might have contested the position. The royal who is given the honour as Chief-elect is entrusted with considerable power and responsibility. In popular terms the Chief should be the most admirable man in his domain. He

has a social rank which plays a very distinctive role in Akan society.

2 (xiii) NOMINATION OF A CHIEF FOR ENSTOOLMENT:

The nomination of a Chief is performed by the royal council, consisting of the royal lineage head (abusua panin), the sub-lineage heads and the Queenmother (executive chair), along with two wing-chiefs, Gyasehene and Ankobeahene, who, as 'sons' of the deceased, have an overseeing role but no executive function. In addition, there is lobbying from the supporters of respective contestants. Community members become engaged in political discussion and campaigning for respective nominees. Gossip in and around respective houses shapes people's opinions. In this process, although chiefship pertains to the (maximal) lineage, sub-lineages, keen that someone from their particular group becomes the Chief, are thrown into structural conflict (Holy 1983: 105). Success in a political contest involves skilled political tactics and gives the sub-lineage a good name. For the sub-lineage the position of a Chief becomes historically significant when their Stool is blackened and added to previous royal Stools.

Within the royal council different people are involved in the process of nomination. The Queenmother has a right to nominate a candidate three times. If she fails to satisfy the royal council, the lineage head (abusua panin) and the sub-lineage heads (efie mpanin) have the right to nominate their own choice. Only once agreement has been reached, can the Queenmother ask the council's 'messenger' - Gyasehene, to present the nominee to the kingmakers[19], the main wing-chiefs,

or Elders, who may sanction the recommendation, or veto it (Chapter 10).

The kingmakers can reject the royal council nominee three times, if they present a reasonable case against the proposals. If they are not pleased with the royal nominee they have the right to propose their own nominee. The commoners (nkwankwaa) under their leader Nkwankwahene or Asafoakye, are a powerful and recognised force. If there is no justification in refusing the people's choice it could lead to bloody disturbances or protracted litigation. Those not in favour also have the alternative of taking the Great Oath to prevent the enstoolment. The Great Oath has to be taken at the Asantehene's court before there can be a new nomination; if the nominee is judged to be good then the enstoolment ceremony will proceed. The princes and princesses under their wing-chief, Ahenemmahene, lobby extensively among the royal council members, as well as the kingmakers, to gather support for what they call their future father.

2 (xiv) THE PRIVATE PROPERTY OF A CHIEF

According to Asante customary law, the property acquired by the Chief during his reign automatically becomes the Stool property after his death or when he is destooled. According to Rattray , 'when a man succeeded to a Stool, everything which he had possessed privately - gold-dust, slaves, wives - fell in the Stool and become the stool property' (Rattray 1929: 331).

The position, power and status of royalty has, however, declined since the Asante's defeat at the hands of the

British in 1900. There have also been many other, more recent, changes - since 1961, the Chief has had to provide free education for his nuclear family. This responsibility however has become too great for many Chiefs. Royalties from the Stool have not been enough to cater for chiefship services, maintenance and his private needs as well as domestic attendants. In the past (19th century), stool servants would give three kinds of services to the Chief: palace; domestic; or farming services. Today, the Chief on a more limited budget hires labour. There are, however, industrious Chiefs who invest in stool farms like cocoa, palm and orange tree plantations by using communal labour. Today, in practice, all properties acquired by an incumbent Chief remain as his private property. However, if he invests in the stool farms or receives stool royalties from timber and mining companies he is expected to invest in the Stool.

2 (xv) THE LINEAGE HEAD (ABUSUA PANIN) AND LINEAGE CHIEF (ABUSUAHENE)

The lineage head is called the abusua panin. In some areas, in the case of royal lineages, he is also called the lineage Chief (Abusuahene) (Basehart, 1950) and, in this capacity, represents the particular interests of the royal lineage on the Chief's Council of state. A lineage head is usually a male and has his own lineage council elders (mpaninfo) drawn from the senior men and the senior women. The senior woman in the lineage is the Obaa Panin (these days may be often called 'old lady'). She is recognised as the Queenmother (Ohemma) of the lineage. If the lineage is royal then she is the

Queenmother of the entire state, town or village. Both lineage Chief and Queenmother (Ohemma) are hereditary positions. Within the lineage, the abusua panin and Abusuahene are the most experienced senior males, as reported by Fortes (1950). They are the custodians of the lineage estates, particularly the stool farms (farms purposely reserved for the Chief), and are responsible for upholding the unity of the lineage. At a sub-lineage level, the abusua panin both co-operates with the sub-lineage heads (efie mpanin), to oversee the sub-lineage estate, and works with the house (sub-lineage) for the good of the family. Ideally these heads and their subordinates co-operate.

The abusua panin is in charge of matters internal to the lineage. For example, when a female member marries, the abusua panin chairs the performance of customary rites on behalf of the lineage. The efie panin receives the couple and introduces them to the abusua panin. In the area of fieldwork, when a royal of Domeabra Beretuo is to marry, customary rites are extended to the Chief by the presentation of one bottle of schnapps. The presentation of one bottle of schnapps symbolises the royal position of the woman.

Beattie (1967: 355-373) speaks of social checks or restraints on the abuse of political power as "institutionalised social relationships between political authorities and other persons or groups of persons in the society, an effect of which to prevent these authorities from behaving in a manner which the governed community or its representatives regard as not conforming to its conception of the duties and responsibilities of offices" (1959: 102). In

the case of the Asante the ceremonial admonition of a Chief is an example of this.[20] Political relations may have appeared tidy but, as McCaskie has argued this political situation was one which was set into operation and maintained through consistent ideological propaganda. To be Asante thus involved engaging in this political framework.

2 (xvi) PROCEDURES WITHIN THE LINEAGE

Among Asantes, all lineage and sub-lineage members constitute themselves into a council of elders of the group. The council form, private courts to discuss family, social and economic problems. For matters concerning the whole lineage, the efie panin has to discuss first with the 'matri household' elders and then with the abusua panin. The abusua panin then calls the lineage council of elders. At this meeting the executive power rests on abusua panin.

Upon the death of the head or a member of the family, it is the Obaa Panin or Ohemma (Queenmother), abusua panin (lineage head), efie panin (sub-lineage head) and the female elders of the lineage in general, in co-operation with the patri-children, who choose the most responsible close blood relative with jural rights as successor to the deceased[21], be she or he a royal or commoner (akwankwaa). The patri-children treat the deceased person as their father or patri-aunt. They look for a successor who will treat them like their own children. To choose a successor, the lineage elders constitute themselves into a council of elders chaired by the abusua panin. The council confirms the Queenmother and patri-children's recommendation. The abusua panin is the nominal

holder of jural authority for the whole lineage. If, say, a property of the deceased or any verbal will is challenged, he has the jural right to adjudicate on behalf of the heir or the family through state or traditional courts. The efie panin as the immediate guardian deals with the problem of the 'family' (i.e. sub-lineage) along with a few elders, brothers, sisters and senior nephews. He has the jural authority to call upon the services of the efie (house), or yafunmma (uterine descendants). The lineage elders collectively contribute to the funeral expenses of citizens and often help with medical costs (see Chapter 6). Ideally, those without money should be given the same respect as those who make financial contributions to the lineage. The old are supported by their matri and patri-children.

With regard to marital issues, there are many ways in which a man can be considered a bad husband. For example, if he beats his wife, fails to look after her and the children, exploits her for the sake of his matri-family, or marries a second woman without her consent. A cross-cousin marriage is more favourable to the girl's father (agya), for there is a notion that there will be reincarnated souls born into the family, and also, if a father gives his daughter to his matri-nephew, the daughter will have access to his estate or see the rewards of earlier investments in that nephew e.g. his education. If the nephew fails the daughter, there are sanctions which deprive the man from access to the matri-estate. If the marriage is a cross-cousin marriage, a relatively small amount of bride-wealth is paid as everybody knows one another. For all marriages an offering of head wine

(tiri nsa), from the intended husband, could be accepted or ignored by the girl's efie panin who has the right to reject it. The girl's father, to whom the efie panin passes some wine, also has the right to reject the wine and will more often do so when the intending husband is not one of his patri-children. By Asante custom, marriage expenses are paid for by the groom's father. The girl's mother's brother is usually involved in marriage rites and introduces the couple to the abusua panin. The girl's father is officially informed by her mother's brother, despite a private consultation with his daughter. Her matri group (sub-lineage), as custom demands, receive the first bride-wealth payments. Before 1900 local palm wine was presented. But today a small amount of money is distributed, along with schnapps. Normally two bottles of schnapps are presented, one to the abusua panin and one to the agya (father). At Domeabra, in the case of the girl being a royal, there is a demand for one bottle of schnapps for the girl's Chief, conveyed through the Okyeame (Linguist). The father receives a customary "Nyame dwan" (god's sheep). Nyame dwan represents the spiritual essence of the father which is embodied in the nton cult. The father of the girl is seen as giving part of his soul away (father and daughter are of the same nton group) and, with this token of thanks the groom asks for the father's blessing.

2 (xvii) THE SPECIAL HONOUR FOR THE ROYAL LINEAGE

In every town or village a special burial place is reserved for all the royal lineages. A wing-chief is responsible for the royal mausoleum (adehyesieye). Within the town

differentiation according to lineage membership is apparent. The members of all non-royal lineages have a common burial place (manmufo asieye), whilst Christians have their own respective burial place. Only royals are given the exclusive right to have a specific place of burial irrespective of their religious denomination. There is also a right for a royal's patri-children to be buried in the royal mausoleum, which is their father's burial place. Although they have the right to be buried in the royal mausoleum, they do not have the right to contest the Stool.

2 (xviii) THE ASANTE CONCEPTUALISATION OF HOME (EFIE)

For Asante the lineage (abusua) is conceptualised as home (efie), an idea of belonging. Each lineage has its house, occupied by a few people called abusuafie. This is the first ancestral house built by the original settlers in a particular town or village and is regarded as a sacred house for the lineage. Descendants of this main house build sub-lineage houses which are also referred to as abusuafie. In such houses, the lineage, or the sub-lineage, elders meet on festive occasions (for example, Awukudae or Akwasidae (calendrical festivals)) to pay respect to their ancestors. Thus the cultural meaning of a home could correspond with a lineage, a sub-lineage (a family), a natal home, a village or town. When an Asante says 'I am going home' (meko fie) he means, I am going to my house. In a different context, however, it could mean abusua or natal home. As Fortes points out (1969: 154), the state (oman), the body politic, is, by the Asante, conceptually counterposed to efie, which signals

a domain where the ordinary population has influence. That said, the household and all matters arising from it, are constrained by the state in terms of legislative jurisdiction.

2 (xix) ASANTE LINEAGES AS SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THE NORMS AND SOCIAL SANCTIONS THEREIN

According to Ishwaran (1966), every social system includes a network of human relations based on kinship. Somewhat similarly Keesing (1981: 212) writes that, when a 'person is born of particular parents that person is placed in a network of obligation and co-operation; production and distribution are organised through kinship and descent as well'. The mutual obligations and rights between parents and their children, are bound responsibilities which derive from kinship principles of universal application, be it in a Trobriand or Asante society. Keesing, however, supposes that the system already exists without making any mention of how the system is realised.

Humans describe their relationships to one another in various ways. A child is told to call one person mum, another dad, that x is her sister, y her brother and so on. The substantive significance of these descriptions can be, in contrast to Keesing's position, best understood by viewing them as contested positions.

Kinship usually involves some idea of shared bodily substance and these ideas are built upon through education. Kin or ethnic groups' stories are often the foundation of particular social perspectives. Take, for example, the twelve

tribes of Israel, the Irish-Americans, the Jewish-Americans, as well as the African-Americans. All of these ethnic groups have stories about where they have come from and who they are which involve some biological argument, e.g. a blood link to their mother or to their father. These descriptions usually serve to legitimate the position of some people more than others. For Asante, obligations between relatives are viewed as morally binding, with the obligations of kinship having a central symbolic significance (Keesing 1981: 215). That is, it is through kinship rhetoric that Asante portray political relations and this is also the forum in which legal matters are decided. If an individual fails to respond to the demands of the lineage, he or she will lose respect.

According to Schneider (1961), a descent group is a decision-making group. In order to arrive at decisions and to carry them out effectively, the group must have the power and authority to mobilise its resources and capabilities. In 1983, in response to the effects of the long drought and bush fires, many urban dwellers and migrant cocoa farmers returned home. At the same time, millions of deportees from Nigeria, most of whom were rural Akans, were arriving in the area. Although there were international appeals to help resettle these returnees, none of the Asantes went to the emergency accommodation provided by the government and non-governmental organisations. Rather, they returned to their natal homes. The lineage heads and their parents provided them all with assistance, irrespective of what resources they were able to bring home. These returnees, as well as other urban returnees, were provided with meals for a whole season. In

this light, it can be seen that the bush fires 'set free lands' for food crop farming.

Individuals have ties to different lineages and success is achieved through mediating and bringing together these different interests by ensuring that children develop strong ties of loyalty to their mothers. Through socialisation, the children learn to identify matrilineal relatives. It is important that the matrilineal group does not alienate boys who, in the future, may be asked to take on political offices. Schneider (1961), categorises matrilineal male members into three role groups: those who at present hold authority; those who are likely to succeed to those roles; and those unlikely to achieve political office.

In view of the close relationship between the British colonial authorities and the indigenous administration, it is not surprising that European travellers in the 20th century felt at ease in Asanteland. In the words of W. W. Claridge: 'The Ashantees are evidently better acquainted with the rules of decency and morality than any people we know of in this country' (W. W. Claridge 1964: 187). The Asante Kingdom was found to be very peaceful before it had contact (political or christian influence, which came after 1800) with the Western World. This was witnessed by Dupuis (1824/1966) in his travels from the Cape Coast. In Asante social interactions, the norms and sanctions were strictly adhered to. What Dupuis makes reference to, of course, is that, at that time, there was a strong consolidated state.

There are a variety of sanctions in Asante society which are imposed when norms are considered to have been broken.

According to Keesing (1967), in 'simple societies', law is submerged within the structures of kinship and the processes of every day social life, in settlement of conflict, adjudication of disputes, punishment of offenders, redress of damages and maintenance of contractual relationships. What he is referring to here is customary behaviour. Social norms can, following Holy (1993), be described as shared agreements. To break norms is effectively to break what Keesing and Evans-Pritchard refer to as law. What Keesing fails to make mention of is that knowledge and beliefs are variously held by particular actors who compete for ascendancy.

Radcliffe-Brown (1979: 205-219) categorises sanctions in the following way: they are either diffuse or organised, negative or positive. Diffuse sanctions may be moral or ethical, ritual or religious and so forth. Radcliffe-Brown defines diffuse moral sanction as a spontaneous reaction of reprobation by the community toward a person whose conduct is disapproved. Moral obligations may be considered as rules of conduct which, if not observed, bring about reactions of this kind. The most important organised negative sanctions are the penal sanctions of criminal law. These are definite recognised procedures directed against the individual. General or diffuse moral sanctions make the guilty person subject to the reprobation of his or her fellows. If a person violates the norms of the community, his or her behaviour is subject to social disapproval. Organised sanctions are definite, regulated and recognised procedures directed against persons whose behaviour is socially disapproved.

Diffuse sanctions are spontaneous and unorganised, usually expressing the general disappointment of the community or a small group of the community. A sanction is diffuse in so far as there is no formal mechanism for each step in the procedures involved (Beattie, 1964: 170). Beattie gives example of Bunyoro disputes between fellow villagers which are often settled by an informal group of neighbours who have the traditional right to impose a penalty on the guilty person. However, they lack any formal means of enforcing their judgements. There are many negative sanctions which are more or less unorganised or 'diffuse' in the sense that, even though they involve more or less institutionalised patterns of behaviour, they do not imply action by officially constituted bodies of authority. There are many such borderline cases in Asante society. This is because, in Asante society, there are both formal and informal (private) courts. Many cases between neighbours and kinsmen and marriage disputes are settled by private courts, through processes of arbitration and mediation by lineage or family heads or by church elders. These private courts constitute a degree of organisation. The guilty party is asked to pay a pacification fee. However, in cases such as land disputes, when a diffuse sanction is applied, the litigants can refuse the settlement. They may also request the case to be sent to a formal court of the Chief and Elders. Such actors proudly say that they want settlement to be backed by organised negative sanctions.

In modern societies the most important organised negative sanctions are those comprised in criminal law. Where

we have organised negative sanctions backed by a constituted authority with the power to enforce its decisions, we have legal sanctions, or 'law'. In the strict sense, there is law only when there are courts and there is organisation for carrying out the courts' decision. In Asante society, the traditional courts are official courts for customary cases and issue relatively formal sanctions. General sanctions are, by contrast, ethical behaviour sanctions. They are unorganised. In some unorganised sanctions, choice of language is a case in point. For example, there are large numbers of words, considered profane, discourteous and impolite in the Akan language, whose use is disapproved of. These words may be considered obscene, insulting or provocative when spoken to an elder or a person in authority. However, no officially constituted body can take customary or legal action (organised negative sanction against individual) but if a group feels it has somehow constituted itself into a recognised body, it can take action against an individual or group. In Ghana many such cases go to state courts if an individual feels that an individual or group is trying to legitimate unorganised sanctions. For example, after the overthrow of the Nkrumah government there were persistent demonstrations by students against the universities' Vice Chancellors. At a Cape Coast University, there was a student demonstration for the removal of the Vice Chancellor. The NLC Government Commissioner of Education visited the University. A meeting took place between the Commissioner, the University Authorities and the student body. The Vice Chancellor was to address the students but, as soon as he attempted to speak,

the students shouted "wo showa" (your testes), an example of a spontaneous negative sanction. The Vice Chancellor angrily replied "hooligans, 800 students from uncultured homes". The Commissioner had to interrupt the Vice Chancellor to give him a chance to simmer down. However the Vice Chancellor later used all the means at his disposal to dismiss some of the students.

There are other ethical behaviours where an individual is scolded for behaving in such a way. For example, the use of the word 'stupid' by a younger or junior person to an elderly person, a senior or a man of social position, is improper. Another example comes from my early years in Norway. I was playing with an 18 year old girl, and a woman of 65 years interrupted our conversation and asked the girl "Is Baafour your boyfriend?" The girl replied "stupid". I was very shocked and I asked the girl why she had behaved like that. The young girl said that she did not consider it improper to address an elderly lady in such a way.

In practice, however, when one Chief challenges another Chief (as is often the case) it becomes obvious that there is no absolute law. Whilst there may be established ways of handling situations, the pragmatic context often has more direct bearing on what happens than purely dogmatic principles. For example, according to the 1986 Chieftaincy Act, any Chief found guilty of corruption charges loses his right to be a Chief. This law also applies to anyone holding political office. Who, or what, constitutes corruption is a more difficult matter to resolve.

Moral positive sanctions confirm honours or titles awarded to people for their good services. In the pre-colonial Asante kingdom, each chiefdom honoured the individual personalities who gave him support in times of war. Even in modern Ghana, where the government of Ghana awards honours to individuals, the Asante kingdom continues to award honours and titles to individual commoners who contribute to progress and development in their respective Divisions. In 1992, the Asantehene created a wing-chief status for 'Progress' Chief called Nkosohene.

There are other organised negative sanctions besides law. Bodies which do not represent the whole community but only particular associations within it, for example local churches, clubs and professional bodies, may organise ways of dealing with breaches of accepted rules.

In pre-colonial times, legal sanctions included loss of land rights or capital punishment. Capital punishment was a possible sentence in cases of murder, sorcery, incest between members of the same lineage or patri-children, and instigation of war.

2 (xx) ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, SATIRICAL SANCTIONS AND SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS

Another useful perspective on sanctions distinguishes different types according to the means by which social control is effected. Among the Asante, these means are principally economic, satirical and supernatural.

(a) Economic sanctions

In pre-colonial times, the guilty party could pay a fine rather than incur supernatural sanctions. However, today, the Chief's or an Elder's authority to apply economic sanctions is very limited. The majority of the country's economic wealth is no longer solely in the hands of the Chiefs. Cocoa farming, in the context of post independent Ghana and urban migration, are alternatives not controlled by the lineage. As people are willing to move, it becomes easier for them to avoid disputes and responsibilities in their natal villages. Offences like incest (see Chapter 6), although committed by an individual affect the reputation of the whole lineage. It is the responsibility of the abusua panin (lineage head) to find a peaceful settlement. The lineage head in co-operation with the lineage elders, call their kin to order, or perform appropriate rites on behalf of the family, to pacify the Chief and the ancestors. Normally a sheep is slaughtered.

(b) Satirical sanctions

Another distinguishable sanction is where the behaviour of an individual is met with ridicule. According to Rattray, the significance of ridicule should not be underestimated. It was the strongest of the sanctions operating in Asante 'to enforce the observance of the traditional rule of the community' (1929: 373). I shall give two specific cases of satirical sanction.

Case one:

In 1980, there was an auto-mechanic, spare-parts dealer in Accra popularly called 'eurocarcass'. He became rich by importing used spare parts from Europe. He built multi-storey houses in Accra. Whilst, at his home town, he became alienated from the family, to the extent that he never bothered to rebuild the family house despite constant appeals by the family head. He died after a short illness. His corpse was sent for burial in his home town. As the body was brought from Accra the body was to be raised in state in a house for mourners to pay their last respects. The family met and those who brought the body from Accra wanted it to be raised in state in a friend's house. But the sub-lineage refused and laid the body in state in the deceased's dilapidated family house. The deceased was ridiculed by the natal home and a similar sentiment was expressed in Accra. These events became a lesson for other urban dwellers. They should respect their natal home and family.

Case two:

One young man Wakyiasem has in conflict with his wife. He followed her to her farm and killed her. He was arrested by the police and he was charged with her murder. The Criminal Court of Ghana found the accused guilty of murder and condemned him to death. His senior brother, Sunkwa (an agricultural extension officer in Central Region of Ghana), when he heard of the murder case raised against his brother, started to drink a lot. As soon as the court pronounced a guilty verdict upon his brother Sunkwa announced to his close

friends that, on account of the shame, he would rather to take his life than return to his natal home in Dwansa and face public ridicule.

(c) Supernatural sanctions

E. Adamson Hoebel (1976: 232) describes Asante supernatural sanctions as criminal acts which were oman akyiwadee - "hated by the tribe". They are criminal acts deemed offensive to the Asante ancestral spirits. The ancestral spirits are believed to protect the well-being of the Asante as a whole and it is believed that they would punish the entire Asante nation were they neglected (Busia 1968: 67; Rattray 1929: 285-308).

Another important supernatural sanction is the royal oath. The royal oath was a solemn promise, the breach of which incurred moral reprobation. The breaking of the oath gave rise to destoolment of a Chief or an Elder to loose his office.

According to Busia (1968: 60), the sanction for the Asante oath was religious and military rather than legal. In the pre-colonial days any territorial Chief who attempted to secede was brought to the union by Asante military forces. The oath of allegiance now has a religious sanction which has superseded the secular sanction of physical force. The breach of the oath became an offence against the gods. It became a taboo (akyiwadie). The violation of a taboo is believed to be met by direct punishment by ancestors (nsamanfo) of the land.

2 (xxi) THE ECONOMY OF ASANTE

There are two main economic activities in the Asante Region, agriculture and mining. Farming, on the whole, is locally managed, whereas all of the mining is owned and controlled by foreign companies, Asante Gold Fields (AGC), Konongo-Odumase Gold Mines, Obenimase Gold Mines, Domeabra-Kwarkoko Surface Mines, Nyinahin Bauxite Company. The same is the case with other minor mining companies and timber industries. The local population only provide manual labour.

There are two main components to agriculture, traditional subsistence farming (for both consumption and sale) and modern cash sector agriculture (such as cocoa farming which is large scale). In the cases of rice farming and yam farming there are some mechanisation in the latter sector. In the Pranum District, where I conducted fieldwork, there is only one mechanised rice farm at Nnobewam.

Traditional farming is by a slash-and-burn method. Areas of cleared forest can only be farmed for a few years, after which most of the nutrients in the soil have been absorbed by the plants or washed away in the tropical rains. A new area is then chosen leaving the first to re-generate. Ash from subsequent burning replenishes the soil with nutrients and minerals. Asante subsistence agriculture is based on intercropping of high-yielding bulk foodstuffs: yam (Dioscorea spp.: many varieties, but generally ode), cocoyam (Colocasia esculenta: mankani), plantain (Musa paradisicia: bodee), cassava (Manihot utilissima: bankye) and maize or Indian corn (Zea mays: aburo). Cocoyam which contains high levels of calcium oxalate, which are poisonous, has been

replaced by the much more palatable Xanthosoma mafaffa, a West Indian variety introduced to the Gold Coast in the 1840's. Cassava, which is easier to grow and requires less labour than either yam or cocoyam, has long been used in Asante when food supplies have been scarce (McCaskie 1995: 26-27). Other crops include sweet potatoes, millet, rice, sugar cane, ginger, pepper, tomatoes, aubergines, onions, groundnuts, cocoa-bulb (Caladium Esculenium), orange, lime, banana, mangoes, pineapples and coffee. Sheep, fowls, goats and pigs are kept as domestic animals. Sheep and fowls were preferred as sacrificial animals and their numbers can be seen to vary over the calendrical year as they are used for ritual and oblation (McCaskie 1995: 27).

The farmers usually grow plantain, cocoyam, yam, rice, maize and cassava as their staple foods. There are a few young men who have been doing medium scale commercial farming in rice, maize, yam and cowpea. Meanwhile, the cash crops are mainly cocoa and small scale coffee farming. Other economic activities include the traditional Asante kente weaving industry and Adinkera pattern cloths[22]. Wood carving and basket making are likewise practised. There are a growing number of non-formal industries like automechanic workshops etc.

In Pranum District, the dominant economic activities are food crop farming and cocoa farming. There has been diversification of cash crops as the government has recognised and promoted certain crops for export (such as palm plantations for the production of palm oil, as well as palm wine and local gin (Akpeteshie)). These crops are

grouped as non-traditional exports. Since the decline of cocoa production in the 1980's, the Ghana Government has promoted the production of various food crops for sale. On an international market, individuals are making profits.

Before 1979, 70% of the rural population of Asante were farmers. The men were basically cash crop farmers. Women were mostly food crop farmers with small holdings of cocoa farms. From 1965 to 1975, quite a large proportion of the farmers were growing cocoa. However, from 1975 to 1983 due to the ageing of the cocoa trees, productivity fell. Few people were involved in cocoa farming at this time. Most of the established cocoa farmers were over 65 years of age. In 1964/65 cocoa season, Ghana cocoa farmers' production capacity reached a maximum peak of 580,869 tons. Around this time, the Supreme Military Council's (SMC) agricultural policy, 'Operation Feed Yourself', encouraged large scale farmers in Northern Region of Ghana, as well as in Edwira and Afram Plains districts in Asante Region, to grow rice and yam. In 1982/1983, a date imprinted in the memories of Ghanaian people, a long drought and subsequent bush fires destroyed food crops, cash crops and forest lands. This catastrophe resulted in widespread environmental degradation.

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1 Nana is the form of address of a chief, or a king, and nana, a form of address to grandparents.

2 Agona is a name of Asenie town of Okomfo Anokye. It is different from Agona clan.

3 Enstoolment - that is, the swearing in and the oath of office ceremony of a new chief.

4 Akyem - Akyem is a name of a beautiful bird. The bird is personified as a group of people who migrated from Adanse. The term Akyem means pure Akan never having been assimilated with non Akans. There are the four Akyems: Akyem Abuakwa, Akyem Bosome, Akyem Kotoku and Akyem Pranum.

5 Royal lineage: For every Akan chiefdom or state there were founding lineages of a state, town or village. In each respective domain, the Chief is chosen from the founding lineage and the wing-chiefs are honoured according to history and contribution to the chiefdom.

6 Queenmother: The meaning of a Queenmother is different from the English words queen mother. The Akan word Queenmother means queen in English. The female chief is queen (Ohemma in Akan) the male chief, Ohene.

7 Adae refers to 'those ceremonies at which the spirits of departed rulers of the clan are propitiated, their names and deeds recalled, and favours and mercy solicited' (Rattray, 1927:92; Busia, 1968:27).

8 Werempe: a very convenient place on the outskirts of a town or a village reserved as a meeting place for

consecration and blackening of a stool. The palace group for this ceremony is known as werempe group.

9 Only office-holders (chief, lineage or sub-lineage head, queenmother or a distinguished elder) who die properly, in office, leaving behind successors, and who have led successful, untarnished lives are potentially ancestors. Deaths caused by diseases such as leprosy, by snake-bite or attack by wild beasts, by drowning, lightning, falling trees or by suicide are shameful and polluting. Those who die in these ways cannot have their stools blackened (McLeod, 1981:116).

10 The ancestors are believed to take a continuing interest in their descendants, warning them in dreams and visions of impending dangers, and punishing them for secret transactions (McLeod, 1981: 117).

11 The Union of military organisation was the same as for a state. It constituted of an advance guard (Twafo), a main body (Adonten), and rear guard (Kyidom), and two wings, left (Benkum), and right (Nifa). In the case of the national army each wing had two formations: right and right-half (nifa noase), left and left-half (benkum noase) Busia, 1968: 90).

12 Territorial Chiefs, Divisional Chiefs or Senior Chiefs are the Paramount Chiefs (Amanhene, pl. and Omanhene,

sing.; in most case I shall use capital C - to show the symbol of respect given to Paramount Chiefs.

13 Abusua (matrilineage) is a group of people who trace their relationship to each other in the female line and see themselves as descended from a common, named forebear who lived some time between six and eleven generations previously (McLeod, 1981: 18-19).

14 The Family House: It is the original House which the ancestress of the sub-lineage stayed. It is a symbol of the sub-lineage. So on important occasions at the sub-lineage meetings the entire active members meet as one 'Household'.

15 Mogya (sing. bogya) means blood. Mogya is inherited matrilineally, and is thus synonymous in meaning with abusua. As we have seen, the abusua is the matrilineage and the more inclusive matriclan (abusua kesee). It was the basis of exogamy; no two members of the same abusua might marry and have children. The mmusua kesee and mmusua are understood as the primordial base of Asante society and identity. Traditionalists argue that there were originally seven such matriclans (abusua ason); but eight - and sometimes more - are commonly listed.

16 Ntoro or nton was the element that defined consanguity in patrilineal terms, and it was often used as synonym

for 'semen'. Every Asante inherited his/her ntoro affiliation from his/her father, and through him, from his/her lineal male antecedent. There is some uncertainty over the precise number of ntoro groups. There is an obscure link between many of the ntoro groups and water, i.e. with atano group of the abosom. The ntoro affiliation was sometimes interpreted in relation to group character; hence, members of the Bosomuru ntoro were noble; of the Bosompra, stubborn and hard; of the Bosomtwe, compassionate, etc. (McCaskie, 1995:167-169). Members of each and every ntoro shared in common in certain indispensable features, that defined the specificity of that particular group, and that described the context (s) of ascribed patrilineal belonging to it. Thus, every ntoro had its own particular salutation and response (nnyesoo); its own register of avoidances and taboos (akyiwadee - generally things that might not be touched, harmed, eaten, etc.); its own totems (akrammoa , sing. akraboa - animals that were sacred to the members of the ntoro: of course, these were also akyiwadee); and most crucially, its own specific observance day (kra da) McCaskie, 1995:170 , see also 171-172).

According to Meyerowitz (1951), the prominence of nton is highlighted during the Odwira (Asante National New Year) festival. She mentions the Bosomuru (name of one of the nton) State sword which a Asantehene uses to take

the oath of office when he is enstooled. The sword next in rank is dedicated to the Bosompra (name of another nton). The other ntons are enshrined in swords of the leading Divisional Stools like Mampon, Dwaben and Esumegya (Kyerematen, 1950:119).

17 Sunsum (pl. asunsum) was an intangible constituent, non-human in origin, very often translated as 'soul'. The sunsum was believed to determine the character (suban) of a person. Whereas the kra was fixed and unalterable, the sunsum could be changed or modified by training; a 'light' (hare) sunsum could be cultivated and trained to be 'heavy' (duru), that is, to be more responsible, reflective, braver, etc. The sunsum could leave the body during sleep, was an active agent in dreaming, and was susceptible to the spiritual malady of witchcraft. But a 'heavy' sunsum was regarded - quite predictably - as the best defence against witchcraft (wo sunsum ye duru obayifoo ntumi wo: if your sunsum is 'heavy' the witch cannot overpower you'). A sunsum could become agitated and harbour malice; this might bring illness to an individual. A 'burdened' sunsum was encouraged, therefore, to speak its mind' and to 'cool' (dwo) itself down - often in the purgative context of the apo ritual. The sunsum was not confined to the individual. Groups or communities could possess a collective sunsum; that of the Asanteman was contained in the Sika Dwa Kofi. Thus,

protecting the Golden Stool was portrayed as defending the collective sunsum of the Asante against attack.

18 Matri-family house: In Asante society compound houses built to accommodate originally the sub-lineage members. Such houses are referred to as sub-lineage houses (abusua fie). As the population increased, the female descendants could not be accommodated in the sub-lineage house, each woman member tried to build a new house for themselves and their matrilineal descendants. These houses are built mostly in the vicinity of the parent sub-lineage house. In most cases, the founding ancestress' and male ancestors' houses, function, after further expansion, as the royal palace. Such sub-lineage houses are referred to as the sub-lineage's Stool House.

The descendants' many houses are referred to as matri-houses. The members who occupy these houses are referred to as matri-households. At sub-lineage meetings, in order not to discriminate between particular matri-houses, the sub-lineage head refers to the senior man and members of his matri-houses by the more neutral expression 'Your Households' (wo fiefo). The sub-lineage house is always occupied by some members. If the lineage is royal, in its domain there is always placed a Black Stool of the founding ancestress and the ancestor.

19 Main wing-chiefs: Krontihene, Akwamuhene, Nifahene, Benkumhene, Adontenhene, Twafohene, Kyidomhene, Domakwahene, Gyasehene, Ankobeahene and Akyeamehene (chief linguist).

20 Busia (1968:12) cites ceremonial admonition and oath taking - Admonition to a Divisional Chief:
"...do not go after women. Do not become a drunkard. When we give you advice, listen to it. Do not gamble. We do not want you to disclose the origin of your subjects. We do not want you to become miserly. We do not want one who disregards advice. We do not want you to regard us fools. We do not want autocratic ways. We do not want bullying. We do not like beating ...

21 In Asante society there is a strong belief of life after death. There should therefore be an heir to a deceased who will act as a link between the ancestors and the living. There is a belief that the deceased's soul sends messages to the ancestors who are the intermediaries between the living and their God. Libation is poured at occasions for the good of the state or nation and its people.

22 Kente and Adinkera patterned cloths. Kente cloth is indigenous woven cloth which is worn on important occasions. The colonial administration introduced the Kente cloth in boarding schools. There were failed

attempts to industrialise this industry after 1900. The newly industrialised Kente cloth could not match the quality of the original materials.

The Adinkera is a cloth, dyed by Asante weavers, worn mostly during mourning.

CHAPTER THREE

ASANTE SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN RELATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN GHANA

In the terms of indirect rule, the colonial power sustained traditional Asante administrative structures side by side with introduced structures. Such political dualism, whereby the authority of the state was upheld by parallel traditional systems of authority, was continued by the post-independence governments. This chapter considers the adaptation of the traditional Asante institution of chieftaincy in this context. It also considers the continued vibrancy of matrilineal institutions among contemporary Asante, arguing that the persistence of this particular mode of social organisation, whose demise might have been expected in modern times, relates to the continued significance of chiefship as a mode of office in which all Asante have an interest.

3 (i) THE STRUCTURE OF CHIEFTAINCY

Among the Asante, the co-option of chieftaincy as an instrument of colonial power has seen fluctuating fortunes relating to individual chiefship Stools. This mainly relates to the fact that the colonial authorities had only a modest understanding of Asante social structure and that, between 1896 and 1924, the Asantehene, the custodian of Asante political power, was deported - with his authority fully restored only in 1935. The changing fortunes pertaining to some individual Stools reflects the fact that, in traditional terms, Asante Chiefs stood at different levels in a chiefship hierarchy, being either senior Chiefs (whose authority held

good over a given territorial area), or more minor Chiefs of newly expanding areas. In traditional terms, only the Asantehene had the authority to promote minor Chiefs to senior Chiefs. The history of Asante since the turn of the century, has seen particular Stools promoted and demoted (sometimes more than once) as the authority of the Asante has waxed and waned.

The colonial power, in 1902, divided Asante into four main administrative districts, North-eastern, North-western, Southern and Central. A District Commissioner was placed in charge of each of the first three districts and the Central District came directly under control of the Chief Commissioner in Kumase. These divisions were based on the economic interest of the colonial administration, such that the colonial's choice of district capitals seldom corresponded with towns that were important in the context of the traditional chiefdoms. In subsequent years there were several reorganisations. In 1907, the four territorial divisions were renamed 'provinces'[1], respectively Northern Province, Western Province, Southern Province and Central Province. In 1934, the Asante state was administered in seven districts as follows: Districts of Kumase, Amansie (capital Bekwai), Adanse (capital Obuase), Sekyere (capital Mampon), Pranum (capital Juaso), Bron West and Ahafo (capital Sunyani) and Bron East (capital Wankyi).

Capitalising on the traditional administrative structure, the colonial power sustained the traditional Asante Confederacy Council, which in pre-colonial times consisted, along with the Asantehene, of all senior Chiefs

(numbering, at that time, twenty-one in total). In the colonial Confederacy Council, all such Chiefs became termed Paramount Chiefs, and in relation to this office, the administrations over which these respective Chiefs held sway in their local areas were termed Traditional (since 1961, Divisional) councils. Pranum, the district where I conducted fieldwork, proved to be problematic in relation to this process in that this district was an area where there were no senior Chiefs. The Colonial authorities, anxious that they would be represented on the Confederacy Council, promoted two Pranum Stools to paramountcy, namely those associated with the towns of Amantena and Obogu-Bankame. However, the Asantehene, not having sanctioned this promotion, was later able to rescind the paramountcy privileges of these Stools.

The immediate post-independence period saw the governmental authorities working to weaken the power of the Asante state and at the same time sustain popular support. In Asante Region, it achieved this through the effective decentralisation of the Asante state, a gambit which included the reconstitution of the former Northern and Western (Bono-Ahafo) provinces as a region administratively independent of Asante (however, the Northern and Western Chiefs remained informally loyal to the Asantehene) and the (re)promotion of several Pranum Chiefs to paramountcy (now including the Chiefs associated with the towns of Domeabra and Bompata). In 1962, with other political interests at stake, some stools were given honorary Paramount Chiefs but without a Divisional Council, which made a mockery of the normal elevation of Stools to paramountcy. After the 1966 military coup, all the

Stools elevated in this way lost status with little attention being given to local discourse about the matter.

In 1972, when a new Asantehene, Otumfour Opoku Ware II, was enstooled, he made it a policy to elevate some Stools to paramountcy. His evaluation of promotion of some Stools, particularly in Ahafo, Bono and Pranum, was based firstly on the history of the Stool, secondly the social and geographical position of the town in modern Ghana, and thirdly, on the personalities of the influential Stool members. After agitation around 1980, some Bono and Ahafo Chiefs withdrew their political allegiance to the Asantehene in pursuit of greater autonomy. There was a fourth factor. By 1984 a number of Stools favoured by the Asantehene had been elevated with the exception of Domeabra Stool where there was no personality worthy to qualify to such a position. In all, the number of Paramount Chiefs in the metropolitan region rose to 46. Domeabra Stool was one of several Stools which was elevated to paramountcy in 1996, after the death of the incumbent Chief in 1995. See appendix 3, for the list of the number of Paramount Chiefs.

In 1990, the PNDC government, under Rawlings, passed an Act which created an autonomous Regional House of Chiefs for the Bono-Ahafo Region. Paramount Chiefs were made to swear an oath of allegiance to the State Regional Minister or Regional Commissioner. In doing so these Chiefs ceased to be the subjects of the Golden Stool. The complex relations between the state and the Chiefs, could be exploited by individual Chiefs who manipulate these relations with the government for political support. The government since colonial days needs.

The government uses its position to influence development at its own political interest.

Before looking in detail at the Asante indigenous political institution in the context of modern Ghana, I shall first discuss British Indirect Rule and the introduction of State Administration which ran in conjunction with the indigenous system of chiefship administration.

3 (ii) THE INTRODUCTION OF INDIRECT RULE

British Indirect Rule was introduced to conserve what the British, given their particular interests, considered to be good in indigenous institutions and to promote development (Kwabiah, 1988: 45). According to Crowder (1968), British political officer's relation with the Chief was, in general, that of an adviser who only in extreme circumstances interfered with the Chief's role and his authority. It must be remembered however that the British had already demonstrated military supremacy and did not want to invest great amounts of time and money reorganising Asante lives. They were concerned with making profit which they were able to reap from the top of the existing hierarchy.

The indirect rule shifted the source of traditional power from the indigenous constitutional system to the British Law (Apter, 1972:121-122). The Chiefs were considered as agents of the British. This implied that the Chiefs also became agents of the British system, which had direct consequences for the indigenous constitutional system. The Chiefs prestigious position decreased. The Chiefs became a conduit of resources for the colonial administration. This at

times caused tensions between the Chiefs and the colonial administration. The indirect rule also provoked reactions from the new elite (the educated). The balance of power in indigenous societies changed; the influence of the people declined in favour of that of the British Government and new solidarities arose which were based on education and politics, mainly dependent on the same structures but cutting across the traditional units (Apter, 1972: 127, Goldschmidt, 1981: 114-115). "The Chiefs now had a 'dual mandate: from their traditional subjects, and from the colonial government". On the one hand, the new position of the Chief gave him new legal powers over his people. On the other hand, however, the colonial government enacted legislation that was intended to deprive him of essential powers. Their new status perhaps gave the Chiefs more powers, but it also caused a corresponding decline in their authority towards the people, which was aggravated as traditional checks and balances were substituted by the necessity to keep the support of the national government. Their new powers also gave the Chiefs opportunities to gain material profit from their function. It enabled the Chiefs to enrich themselves and their relatives (Goldschmidt, 1981: 214-216).

Indirect Rule encouraged local self-government through indigenous institutions. In Northern Nigeria and Asante, the Emirs and the Asantehene (and their respective hierarchical organisations of Chiefs) were permitted to administer justice in their own indigenous political domains. In effect it could be said, in the context of struggle for independence, that the Chiefs worked for the colonial administration and it was

in this light that the nationalists questioned the role of the Chiefs (George Padmore 1953, London). Many of the Chiefs themselves were not sure as to what their position would be in an independent Ghana. The nationalists were very sceptical about the Chiefs' continued co-operation with the colonial administration in the midst of their struggle for independence. In the Independent Ghana 1957 Constitution, the Chiefs were accepted as local government administrators. Their substantive roles however in post-independent Ghana were restricted to matters bearing on traditional edict and custom, a situation which left them unsatisfied (Kwabiah, 1988: 46).

Regarding the role of the Chiefs in modern Ghana, Kwabiah (1988:71) refers to remarks, made by Rawlings during the 1981 December 31 revolution, on the position of chieftaincy in Ghana. In his address to the National House of Chiefs, Rawlings indicated that his government had no intention of abolishing the institution of chieftaincy. He reiterated that

"Chieftaincy was a very old institution. The Chief was the embodiment of his people, acting as a transmitter between the government and his people. He is the natural arbiter and mediator between the state and his people. It is important that he should play his role very well. We expect from the Chief, support, not sycophancy ... Chieftaincy is an abiding and all pervasive indigenous institution and its importance in the rich culture of Ghana cannot be over-emphasised" (Rawlings 1981 Public Speech, Ghana).

Rawlings' speech pays tribute to the Chiefs. As effective military commander he is in a position to praise whomever he wishes.

According to Kwabiah the British supported those Chiefs with relatively high status and authority and used them as colonial agents. Post-independence, the Chiefs continued to play much the same, if not a more complex, role in internal matters. They were, however, divorced from any real engagement in foreign affairs (Kwabiah, 1988:45).

3 (iii) OUTLINE OF POST-INDEPENDENCE MODERN STATE STRUCTURE

After independence, Ghana was divided into the political regions of Asante, Bono-Ahafo, Northern, Eastern, Central, Western and Volta. The Accra metropolitan area was made Greater Accra Region and was excluded as part of the Eastern Region. The northern region of Ghana was divided into two political regions. In total therefore, Ghana had nine political regions. In 1979, in what was now the third Republic of Ghana, the Limann administration divided the former Upper Region into the Upper West and Upper East Regions. Ghana now had ten political administrative regions. All these administrative regions are further sub-divided into administrative districts. In the regional capital, there is a regional minister as the head of regional administration and a district executive officer as the head of district administration. There are also levels of state courts which vary from local magistrate/district magistrate courts to high court in the regional capitals.

In addition, there are district assemblies for each parliamentary constituency. There are area councils within each assembly area. These political administrative units were based on population figures and economic resources like taxation, and revenue from minerals and timber.

In Pranum district, there are two constituencies, namely Pranum North and Pranum South, each with respective district capitals, and administrative quarters at Konongo and Juaso. At the lower level, Owerriman, with its own area council, is one of the smaller administrative units of the Pranum North District Assembly. The Owerriman area council comprises of the Domeabra and Dwansa traditional areas. Thus the state functions at both national and rural levels.

3 (iv) THE ASANTE CHIEFTAINCY HIERARCHY WITHIN THE MODERN STATE

Post-independence, constitutions were written which created modern state-sector regional organisations, whilst upholding a parallel indigenous structure based around a Regional House of Chiefs. In the 1961 Republican Constitution, a special ministry of chieftaincy affairs was created and given the name Chieftaincy Secretariat. With the promulgation of the 1969 constitution, the National House of Chiefs was created as an umbrella for the existing Regional House of Chiefs. This new superstructure was intended to help the Chiefs in Ghana maintain a solid political position. Thus it was envisaged that administrative and judicial cases could be adjudicated through two parallel political processes, based respectively on modern state and indigenous principles. The Chieftaincy Secretariat was also assigned ministerial duties

in order that chieftaincy might better suit the modern administration and development of Ghana. The Chieftaincy Secretariat also had the important task of developing solutions to ethnic problems in the multi ethnic state of Ghana. In 1970 under President Busia's government, the king of Asante - the Asantehene - became the first president of the National House of Chiefs.

Let us turn now to the Asante State. By 1984 the number of Paramount Chiefs in Asante Regional House of Chiefs had increased to 46. The status of these Paramount Chiefs is equal in rank to the status of Paramount Chiefs in other regions. The Paramount Chiefs are by constitution, all equal in status (whether they are in practice is a different matter), but the position of the King of Asante is unique.

In the mid-1970's, the Asantehene resigned as the president of National House of Chiefs and appointed Adansehene (i.e. Paramount Chief of Adanse Division) to represent the Asante Region. There had been pressure for some time from Regional House Chiefs who argued that the presidency should rotate round all the regions. The National House of Chiefs is in turn constituted by the presidents of the Regional House of Chiefs. The Asantehene as a King cannot represent the Asante Region, for the rotation of the position of President of the National House of Chiefs is between Paramount Chiefs. In view of this, the Asantehene appoints one of his Paramount Chiefs as the representative of Asante Regional House of Chiefs. The present president of National House of Chiefs is Nana Numapau, the Paramount Chief of Esumegya, Asante Region.

3 (v) THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE CHIEFTAINCY HIERARCHY

In the Kumase Divisional Council, the Asantehene is the head, whilst in the other Divisions the heads are Paramount Chiefs. Every Council is comprised of Wing-Chiefs (heads of affinally related lineages). This complex political arrangement gives the Kumase Wing-Chiefs a much higher status than the Wing-Chiefs of other divisions headed by Paramount Chiefs. The Wing-Chiefs are called by titles of Asante Army Generals and Captains (see Chapter 2).

The Asante capital Kumase is a conglomeration of towns namely, Adum, Amakom, Asafo, Asokwa, Ahensan, Bantama, Asante New Town, Dichemso, Bompata, Bomso, Ayigya, Kwadaso, Manhyia (the seat of Asantehene), Fante New Town, Tafo, Suntresu, etc. Some of the founding towns are represented by chiefs who have main wing status. In Kumase the status of a wing-chief is a senior Chief. The wing-chiefs are the administrative personnel.

The personnel of administration (wing-chiefs)

1. KRONTIHENE: Ekuona lineage, Chief of Bantama.

2. AKWAMUHENE: Asona lineage, Chief of Asafo.

3. NIFAHENE: For Manponhene. This position is not in the Mampon division but in the Asante kingdom as the title is reserved for the entire kingdom in honour of the Mampon Stool.

4. BENKUMHENE: this position has a dual function - the title is both for the state and the Kumase Division. In

Kumase Division: The TWAFOHENE - Chief of Tafo, Agona Lineage.

5. ADONTENHENE; Asenie lineage: Adontenhene, Chief of Eduaden. His village is near Kumase.

6. ANKOBEAHENE : The incumbent Asantehene can enstool any of the princes of the Golden Stool. It is referred to as the princes' stool. It does not belong to a specific lineage.

7. GYASEHENE: Oyoko Lineage, Chief of Saman (Samanhene). Gyasehene as the senior Chief of Gyase like Ankobeahene Stool has many sub-Chiefs and sub-wing chiefs within the rubric of the Gyase Stool.

8. KYIDOMHENE: In Kumase this position is held most commonly by a senior prince from the house of the current Asantehene. The Stool name is AKYEMPEMHENE.

9. DOMAKWAHENE: Beretuo Lineage - The administrative centre of this lineage is situated in a village outside Kumase.

10. MANWEREHENE: Ekuona Lineage. Like the Gyasehene the Manwerehene is one of several Chiefs concerned with the internal administration of the palace.

11. TWAFOHENE: A position of great status in divisions other than Kumase. The head of this stool is under Akwamuhene.

12. OYOKOHENE: Oyoko Lineage

13. THE AMAKOM CHIEF (AMAKOMHENE): Asenie Lineage. It has unique position in Kumase. It was founded earlier than Kumase (about 1600). It is ruled by the Asenie clan stool brother - Adontenhene.

3 (ix) THE PRINCIPAL STOOLS OF ASANTE AND THEIR RESPECTIVE STOOLS

(a) Name of clan, head of clan, (member stools of the clan)

1) OYOKO/DAKO: ASANTEHENE: (Asantehene, Juaben, Bekwai, Nsuta, Kuntanse, Obogu, Asankare, Denyase-Kumase, Oyokohene (in Kumase), Edubiasehene, Mamponten, Gyasehene (Samanhene in Kumase), Bomfa, Dwansa, Bankame, Juaso, Atwedee, Kurofa, Serwua, Bremanhene, Etutuohene, Adumhene, Ahenkro, Ananatahene, Anwiam, Pampaso.

2) BERETUO: MAMPONHENE (Ayaase, Ahensan, Ofoase, Mampon, Domeabra, Efiduase, Gyamase, Apaa, Amoafo, Adankrangya, Dominase, Kwapea, Domakwahene (Bokwankye in Kumase), Baworo, Seniagya, Hwidiem, Wankyi, Beposo (in Pranum), Kyekyebiase.

3) ADUANA: ESUMEGYAHENE (Esumegya, Dormaa, Kumawu, Amantena (capital is Bompata), Tekyiman, Agogo, Kwaman, Bodomase, Suma, Nsoatre, Ekaase, Tikrom, Kwaso, Asranponhene, Banso, Praaso (in Pranum), Asebihene, Fantehene

(Dadeasoabahene in Kumase), Boamanhene, Apromasehene, Gyaakyehene

4) AGONA: TAFOHENE, Tafo, Nkawie, Trede, Fomesua, Gyadam, Patriensa, Assieninpon, Konkoma, Goaso, Odumase (in Brong-Ahafo), Bechem, Duayaw-Nkwanta, Kyiraa, Konkoma.

5) EKUONA: FOMENAHENE, Adansehene (when acting as head of Adanse division), Fomena, Asokore, Berekum, Bantamahene (Krontihene in Kumase), Dwease (in Pranum), Afarihene, Kyidomhene (Akyempemhene in Kumase) Nkabomhene (in Kumase), Barmuhene (in Kumase), Nkwanta, Odumase (in Brong-Ahafo), Sunyani, Achiase (in Pranum).

6) ASONA AND ASAKYIRI ASONA: OFFINSOHENE, Offinso, Edweso, Akwamuhene (Asafo in Kumase), Manso-Nkwanta, Abenkyim (Akurofrom in Adanse district), Toase, Edwira, Konongo, Odumase, Appianimhene, Kronkohene (in Kumase)
ASAKYIRI: AKROKYEREHENE Akrokyere, Asakyiri, Abofuo, Morso, Apiadu.

7) ASENIE: ADONTENHENE (in Kumase) Adonten (in Eduaden), Agona, Amakom, Nkoranza, Wenkyi, Dompoase, Asuboa, Adomfe, Antoa, Bonwire, Wabiri, Peminase, Kwarmo, Akyiakrom, Tepa (in Brong-Ahafo).

OTHER STOOLS: Esase, Brodekwano, Adumasa (Amanfrom in Pranum), Amantia (in Ofoase division).

PRE-1960 ASANTE DIVISIONAL COUNCIL

	TOWN	DIVISION/AREA	CLAN
1.	KUMASE	KUMASE	OYOKO
2.	MAMPON	SEKYERE	BERETUO
3.	FOMENA	ADANSE	EKUONA
4.	ESUMEGYA	ESUMEGYA-AMANSEE	ADUANA
5.	JUABEN	JUABEN	OYOKO
6.	KUMAWU	KUMAWU-SEKYERE	ADUANA
7.	OFFINSO	OFFINSO	ASONA
8.	KOKOFU	KOKOFU-AMANSEE	OYOKO
9.	BEKWAI	BEKWAI-AMANSEE	OYOKO
10.	NSUTA	NSUTA-SEKYERE	OYOKO
11.	EDWESO	KWABRE-MPONUA	ASONA
12.	AGONA	KWABRE	ASENIE
13.	DORMAA (WAMPAMU0)	BONO	ADUANA
14.	TAKYIMAN	BONO	ADUANA
15.	NKORANZA	BONO	ASENIE
16.	BEREKUM	BONO	EKUONA
17.	GYAMAN	BONO	ADUANA
18.	WENKYI	BONO	ASENIE
19.	BANDA	BONO	ASENIE
20.	MO	BONO	----
21.	ABEASE	BONO	ADUANA

The towns represent the traditional capital of every divisional area. That is, the seat of the King and the Paramount Chiefs.

After 1960 new Paramount Chiefs were created by the independent government of Ghana. But most of them were demoted to their former statuses. After 1984, the new Asantehene elevated the following Stools to paramount status.

	STOOL TOWN	DIVISIONAL COUNCIL	CLAN
1.	DANYASE	DENYASE (KWABRE)	OYOKO
2.	ASOKORE	ASOKORE (SEKYERE)	EKUONA
3.	MANSO-NKWANTA	AMANSIE	ASONA
PRANUM:			
4.	AGOGO	AGOGO	ADUANA
5.	ASANKARE	ASANKARE	OYOKO
6.	ASUBOA	ASUBOA	ASENIE
7.	DOMEABRA	DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN	BERETUO
8.	BOMPATA	AMANTENA-BOMPATA	ADUANA
9.	DWANSA	DWANSA	OYOKO
AHAFO			
10.	AKODIE	AKODIE	_____
11.	AKYERENSUA	AKYERENSUA	_____
12.	DUAYAW-NKWANTA	DUAYAW-NKWANTA	AGONA
13.	BECHEM	BECHEM	AGONA
14.	GOASO	GOASO	AGONA
15.	HWIDIEM	HWIDIEM	_____
16.	KANYASI (No. 1)	KANYASI (No. 1)	_____
17.	KANYASI (No. 2)	KANYASI (No. 2)	_____
18.	TEPA	TEPA	ASENIE
19.	YAMFO	YAMFO	_____
20.	MIM	MIM	_____
21.	SANKORE	SANKORE	_____

BRONG:

22.	AMANTEN	AMANTEN	_____
23.	ATTABUBU	ATTABUBU	_____
24.	AWUADOMASE	AWUADOMASE	_____
25.	DROBO	DROBO	_____
26.	JAPEKROM	JAPEKROM	_____
27.	NSOKO	NSOKO	_____
28.	OFUMAN	OFUMAN	_____
29.	SAMPA	SAMPA	_____
30.	SUMA	SUMA	_____
31.	ETC		

Informant: Nana Etwie Kwaku, Odekuro of Twinduase,

Interpreter: Mr H. A Nuamah, Kumase, Ghana 1985, 1996.

(b) The names of the Regional House of Chiefs:

THE GHANA CHIEFTAINCY HIERARCHY

1) ASANTEHENE PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL HOUSES OF CHIEFS

2) REPRESENTATIVE PARAMOUNT CHIEFS FROM THE TEN REGIONAL HOUSES OF CHIEFS:(RHOC)

3) DIVISIONAL HOUSES OF CHIEFS HEADED BY PARAMOUNT CHIEFS.

RHOC: Asante, Brong-Ahafo (Former West Asante), Greater Accra, Volta Region, Eastern Region, Western Region, Central Region, Northern Region, East Upper and West Upper Region.

NOTE: Asantehene as a King has a unique position in the National House of Chiefs. For the President of the National House of Chiefs is nominated from one of the Paramount

Chiefs. Asante Regional House of Chiefs nominates one of the Paramount Chiefs to represent Asante. For the presidency rotates and Asantehene could not represent Asante as it was initially agreed that Asantehene was first honoured as the President of National House of Chiefs.

(c) The Asante chiefship hierarchy

THE ASANTEHENE & ASANTE REGIONAL HOUSE OF CHIEFS

REPRESENTATIVES OF PARAMOUNT CHIEFS FROM DIVISIONAL COUNCILS: E.g. KUMASE, MAMPON (SEKYERE), JUABEN, ASUMEGYA, ADANSE, PRANUM DIVISIONAL COUNCILS Etc.

(d) Domeabra-Owerriman Divisional Council (headed by Domeabrahena)

REPRESENTATIVES: WING-CHIEFS: KRONTIHENE, AKWAMUHENE, ADONTENHENE ETC. AND SUB-WING CHIEFS:

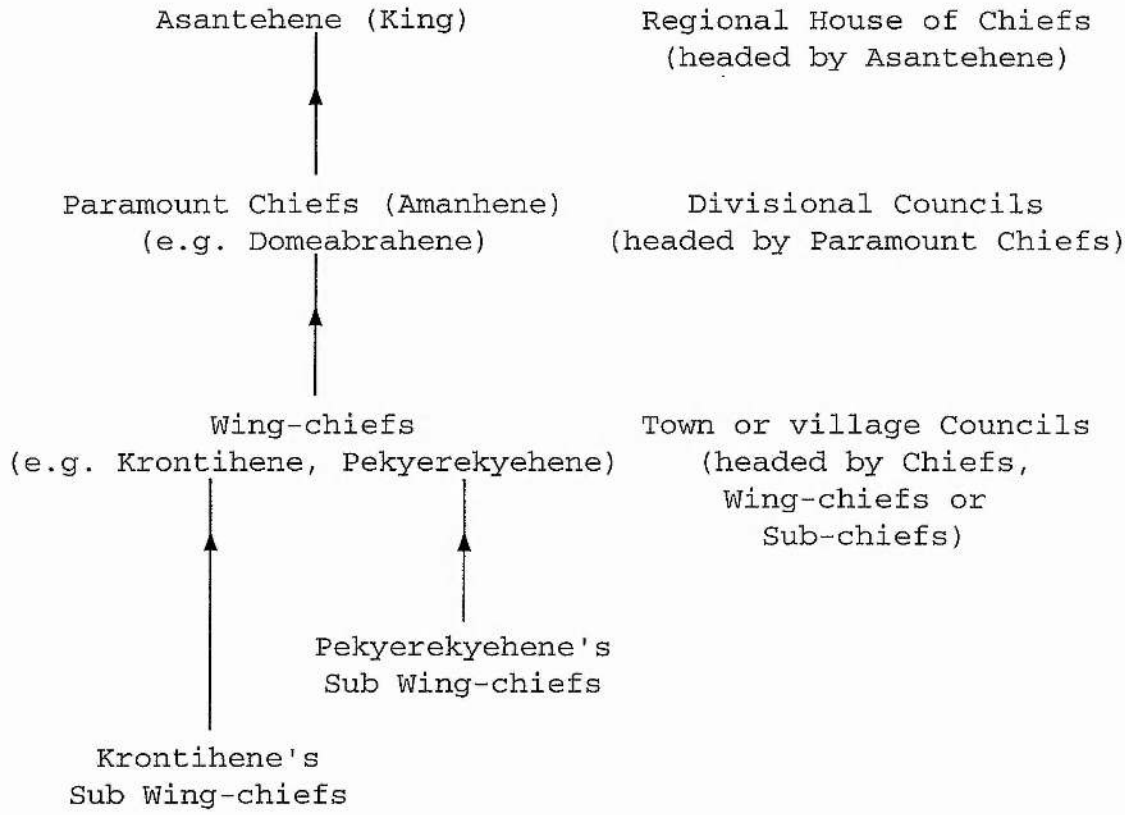
PEKYEREKYE, OPUNIASE, KWARKOKO, ANOMANYEI, MMENAN, ADEEMERA

(e) Pekyerekye sub-division

PEKYEREKYEHENE AND ELDERS/WING CHIEFS.

See National and Regional House of Chiefs. and the local administration for Domeabra-Owerriman Divisional Council.

The Asante Chieftaincy Hierarchy



See details above. A similar diagram can be used for the parallel administration of the state and the Chiefship hierarchy (as below)

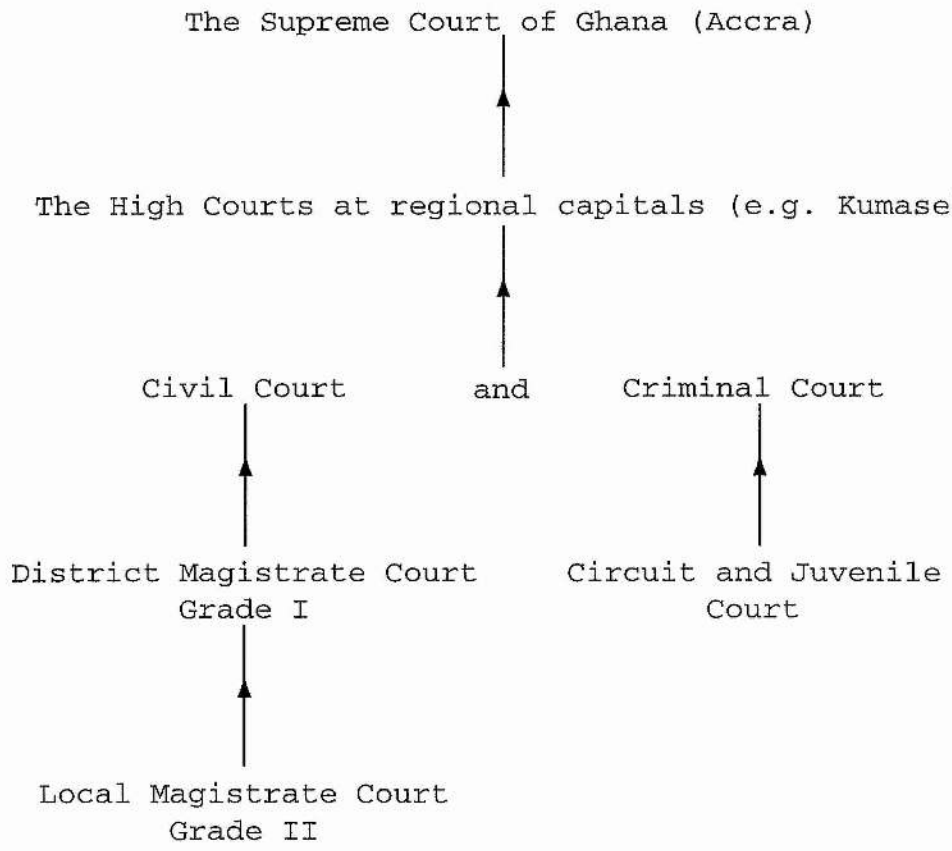
(f) The state administration and chieftaincy secretariat and National House of Chiefs:

Ministries	National House of Chiefs
Regional Administration	Regional Councils
District Administration and	Chief or Wing-chief
District Assemblies	Sub-chief and Elders
Zonal Committees	

(g) The state courts and traditional courts of panel of chiefs

The Supreme Court Of Ghana	Panel of N. H. Of Chiefs
The High Courts Of Regions	Panel of R. H. Of Chiefs
District Magistrate Courts	Panel of Divisional Councils
Local Magistrate Courts	Chief and Elders constitute into a judicial administration adjudicating on judicial matters concerning traditional cases

The State Court Hierarchy



Levels of appeal of State Courts

The hierarchy in administration in both state political administration and judicial administration has its corresponding level of hierarchy in the chieftaincy administration. They run parallel to each other. Kwabiah (1988) refers to this dual structure as Ghana Political Dualism.

Each Divisional Council constitutes the basis of administration and forms courts or tribunals to adjudicate on

issues of customary law, for example, over chieftaincy disputes, marriages, offences against the state, land disputes and appeals from lower administrative levels of the hierarchy. The Chiefs of Divisional Councils are the Asante leaders in the modern state of Ghana. As such they are responsible for the 'development' of the area in terms of farming technology and sanitation, and in maintaining traditional and customary rites. From the traditionalist Asante position, they are the medium between the living and the ancestors. At the same time, and from a different ideological framework, government policies reach the general population through these very same individuals.

In terms of development, there are Village and Town Development Committees (VTDC). These committees are the local government administration under the District Assembly. The members meet the Chief and Elders to discuss important issues with regards to development needs and priorities. The Chief and Elders in co-operation with VTDC members make annual development budgetary proposals for the District Council approval. The Chief is expected to initiate proposals for development and also use his position to channel the needs of his people and financial to the government and other non-governmental financial institutions. He should be able to mobilise his people for development contributions. His influence to get development projects into his areas is a prestige and honour for his rule.

Due to the complex nature of chieftaincy disputes, the Chieftaincy Secretariat with governmental support, has instituted a special tribunal at each level of chieftaincy,

from the Divisional Council to the Regional House of Chiefs and, from there, to the National House of Chiefs, in order to adjudicate chieftaincy disputes. In Asante Region, the Asantehene appoints a panel of Paramount Chiefs to adjudicate cases involving senior Chiefs. However, for cases affecting Paramount Chiefs, the Asantehene as King and president of Regional House of Chiefs, appoints a panel of Paramount Chiefs from the Regional House of Chiefs. As any appellate from the Divisional Council comes to the Regional House of Chiefs, an appellate of a case adjudicated by the Regional House of Chiefs goes to the National House of Chiefs. Here, it is the president of National House of Chiefs who appoints a panel for appeal cases. Any final appellate of a case adjudicated by a panel of the National House of Chiefs should go before the Supreme Court of Ghana (see above for the Asante Chieftaincy Hierarchy arrangement).

If an individual feels that their civil rights or liberty are not being protected through the chieftaincy tribunal, they have the legal right to seek redress from the State Court. The equivalent state office, parallel to the Divisional Council tribunal, is the High Court. Since there are always grey areas in the context of political and legal dualism (Kwabiah, 1988: 129), some actors use the state courts to by-pass chieftaincy tribunals. The judge has to argue the case with the accused's and the accuser's lawyer, to define whether the case is a customary case or a civil case before the case could be entertained by the state court. If a case is brought before the chieftaincy tribunal, unless the nature of the case was challenged, it could not be judged

by state court. A defendant could be charged with contempt of court were they to attempt this legal switch.

3 (x) THE ASANTE JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

In the context of the modern state, traditional structures continue to inform much judicial administration. There are basically three levels of 'traditional' Asante court.

Firstly, there are private courts headed by respectable citizens, such as family heads, lineage heads or priests. Household cases (efisem) are dealt with in these courts. Even though this level of court is an informal one, its panel could be called upon to witness a case, for example a marital and land dispute.

At the second level, those cases adjudicated by the Chief and Elders (wing- chiefs) are formally recognised by the state. In doing so government officials demonstrate their respect for the Chiefs. These Divisional Council formal courts (Ahenfiesem) are presided over by Chiefs. The officials of the judicial panel are the Chief (Ohene - sing. and Ahene -pl.), wing-chiefs (obirempong) or Elders (mpaninfo) and sub-chiefs (Adekurofo, pl. Odekuro, sing.). Such courts deal variously with land matters, exogamy, chieftaincy disputes, etc. (Busia 1951/68: 149-150). These Divisional Council formal courts (ahenfiesem) are presided over by Chiefs. In accepting the legal authority of this court an oath (ntam) of that particular Stool is sworn.

The superior court is symbolised by the Great Oath (ntam kesee) of the King of Asante (Asantehene) (see Chapter 2). This court most importantly functions as a court of appeal.

When one of the actors (accused or complainant-plaintiff) appeals for clemency, the Asantehene could pardon him, as often happens, or delegate one of his Divisional Chiefs to settle the case amicably in private and make out a report.

In 1992, the law was changed, such that, in cases concerning Paramount Chiefs, adjudication must take place at the level of the Regional House of Chiefs. The Fourth Constitution established a chieftaincy Act whereby, in cases of destoolment judicial committee is appointed to adjudicate the cases. As mentioned before, the panel members are then formally appointed by the Asantehene. Such appointees are usually selected from Paramount Chiefs depending upon their political relationship to the Chief under contention. The Asantehene has prerogative power to intervene in finding an amicable solution which will avoid long protracted litigation. This is important because cases of protracted litigation continually fuel conflict among lineages which wastes time and opportunities. Before the promulgation of the new Ghana constitution and the enactment of the chieftaincy act, the Asantehene had far greater prerogative judicial authority (Rattray 1929: 104-105; Busia 1951/68: 17). The Asantehene could however be called before the Asante State Tribunal of the Paramount Chiefs, were there questions to be answered. Even though the Asantehene could be destooled, as happened to a number of earlier Kings, this would be very unlikely.

3 (xi) LAND RESOURCES

All land in Asante is vested in the Asante Golden Stool. Each Chief, however, is left to manage particular areas. An important distinction in rights can be made between land (all of it) as held by the traditional state, and land as it is used by citizens. Although citizens have the usufruct right to farm land, rivers, mineral deposits, wild animals for hunting (which includes snails) and trees of commercial value are the property of the state. They are referred to generally as the economic resources of the Chief. However, in the context of the modern state, it is apparent that the Ministry of Lands and Mineral Resources assumes rights over oil, minerals and timber. Upon the exploitation of such resources, the Stools concerned are paid royalties in which the Golden Stool and the Divisional Chiefs are paid certain percentages (one third each to Divisional Council, Asanteman Council and District Assembly). The rest of the money remains with the government. In a sense, it could be argued that the population are supporting an excess of administrators. This is indicative of a pattern, apparent in numerous 'developing countries', whereby the government employs a huge civil service to ensure victory in political elections.

The Divisional Chiefs, and their subjects, have the right to use the land (Busia 1951/68: 60). For Asante, security of tenure was provided by the kinship system upon which usufruct rights to land were based (Busia 1951/68: 69). Busia further highlights this by saying the system of land-tenure was based on lineage solidarity, allegiance to the Stools and the supremacy of the ancestors.

In the pre-colonial era, the Asante kingdom controlled the internal and external trade under Ministry of Trade (Batahene), (Rattray 1929: 112; Busia 1951/68; Meyerowitz 1952). On the contrary, today, the national state ministry enjoys control and royalties are paid to the Asantehene.

3 (xii) WING-CHIEFS AND COMMONERS IN MODERN GHANA

In Chapter 2, I discussed in detail the political relations at the level of the union of confederated states. The King of Asante - Asantehene, who is the occupant of the Golden stool - is the supreme authority of the kingdom. Every Paramount Chief (Omanhene) is the head of his Divisional Council of territorial state (oman). Even though the stability and the maintenance of the union was at times problematic, as asserted by Busia (1951/68: 87) and Fortes (1950: 252), the union maintained its intermediate authority over numerous territorial divisions (oman). In general, royal marriages were arranged between the different Chiefs of the seven clans which, with succeeding generations, promoted strong affinal relations between the great Stools. Such affinal and kinship relations gave security to the dominant ruling lineages, so long as their clients remained relatively content. Any secession was considered a great offence against the Golden Stool (Busia 1951/68).

The Asantehene had permanent affinal relations with all the divisional royal lineages. The children of all these consorts (ayete) became princes and princesses of the Golden Stool. Through cross-cousin marriage, most of these Golden Stool patri-children intermarried with the Kumase Oyoko

lineage royals of the Golden Stool. For example, the Beretuo clan Stools of Mampon and Domeabra chiefdoms would give a royal in marriage to the occupant of the Golden Stool. Thus, one of my great grandmothers, Nana Agyarkoa, was married to King Osei Tutu Kwabena Asibey Bonsu (born 1779 died 1823). Through this, the Domeabra Stool became part of the king's own guard, as an extremely important Wing. Through this affinal relationship to the Golden Stool, the Domeabra Stool was referred to as Ankobea Wing and was made guardian of the Golden Stool. In this guise, before 1900, Domeabrahene was commander of a company of soldiers whose job it was to protect the throne. In modern Ghana however the military strength of the Domeabrahene extends only as far as display.

Nkwankwaa are commoners. They are non-office holders in the chiefship hierarchy and can be described as ordinary citizens. Literally, nkwakwaa means youth, in distinction to traditional office holders, or Elders.

All Asante citizens, irrespective of their status in the community, have the right to participate in state debate and discussion. In all state assemblies the commoners have the right to present their collective views through their leader or their recognised spokesman, called Asafoakye or Nkwankwaahene.

In the olden days, the commoners formed militia groups called Asafo. Commoners from all the seven clans are represented in these organisations. The nkwakwaa had the right to voice their disapproval of the Chief. The present Chief of Domeabra is hated by the nkwankwaa more than at any other time in the history of the Stool. It was a member of

nkwankwaa who was the first to take the Great Oath in an attempt to destool the Chief. However, by way of the national constitution formulated in 1994, that right is now reserved for the Elders (wing-chiefs). In the past, the nkwakwaa acted as a pressure group who were able to wield influence over the Elders. Despite the present law, the Chief and Elders need the moral, physical and financial support of the nkwankwaa. As nkwankwaa are fundamental for both economic and political viability, rights of jural citizenship and laws of residence incorporate and position them in terms, on the whole, suitable to the elite.

3 (xiii) JURAL RESIDENCE AND CITIZENSHIP

Residence has both jural and social meanings. With regard to jural citizenship, I refer to claims which are portrayed in terms of matrilineal connections to a Chief and Wing-Chief; these are people's natal connections. With these associations come rights to land, to inheritance, as well as incumbent duties to respective patrons. By 'jural residence' what is implied is the rights a person has in their natal home (me kurom - literally my home town).

Social residence, however, refers to where a person lives. As a result of continuing patterns of migration, many people live away from the village in which they were born. Even after a period of perhaps ten years 'away', they do not gain full citizenship. As part of the duty of social residence, people are obliged to respond to impositions placed on them by the local ruling lineage. In general, the majority of migrants maintain strong cultural links with

their natal home. For example, comparably with the Asante, many Kwawu traders have been successfully working in Accra. They have substantial private property in Accra, but during Easter Holidays they leave 'en masse' for the Kwawu district of Ghana to pay homage to their village and family ancestors.

In Asante culture, there is also, a third type of residence, referred to as house residence, whereby a person has kinship relations with household members.

There are two English expressions which describe modern Ghanaian notions of local identity. These are home town and natal home (me kurom). Each symbolises a territorial area which in modern Ghana are referred to as political districts. The following questions and replies will hopefully go some way in demonstrating the social and symbolic meanings of citizenship. Take for example a meeting between two Asante citizens from different neighbourhoods: Where do you stay in Kumase? I stay at Amakom. What about you? I stay at Asafo. These refer to two different communities with different lineage associations both based in Kumase. The conversation continues: Where is your home town? I am Pranum citizen (Pranum ni). My home town is Domeabra but my father's home town is Bompata in Pranum district. However when an Asante and non-Asante (e.g. from Akyem) meet, the emphasis is more on the Asante nation in relation to equivalent counterparts e.g. Akyem (a former Akan province of Asante). Such ethnic identity is subsequently clarified by identifying the person's association with a local chiefdoms.

The foregoing examples emphasise the contextual nature of identity. What should be brought even more to the fore in

this respect is the position of the state which sets the conditions around which people have to shape their own personal worlds. The Akyem asks: Which part of Asante do you come from? I am from Pranum District and my natal home is Domeabra. The Akyem replies that he is from Akyem Kotoku (one of the three Akyem chiefdoms) and that his natal home is Oda. It is Domeabra and Oda that they emphasise as much in recognition of their jural citizenship as anything else. Each chiefdom has a territorial base, oman (sing., aman -pl.) in terms of citizenship. The Chief's capital town is the seat of the throne and is the natal home for all the subjects. The Oman covers all the towns, villages and hamlets where the Chief's subjects are distributed, through the support of an extensive administration. The Oman is therefore a political unit to whom a recognised group of people pay allegiance.

Over many years of war and liberation many people came to live in areas which were under the jurisdiction of different founding lineages from their own. There was a reciprocal gesture of protection, whereby, through allegiance, lands and villages conquered through Asante wars were granted to the Asantehene's captains - Wings-Chiefs, and palace officials. Villages would be given to the King's captains with certain villages being passed between competing chiefdoms over the years.

A second apparent feature in the aftermath of the Asante war of liberation was an increase in virilocal marriages between citizens of different chiefdoms. Many such individuals came to hold dual primary allegiance in terms of jural citizenship (see below). Through allowing and actively

promoting virilocal residence new states were able to increase their work force. Where natural resources like large stretches of fertile lands, rivers and security were very abundant, in conjunction with a powerful leader, migrants would be attracted to that Chief's militia.

How, then, is dual citizenship obtained? When any Asante leaves his chiefdom to acquire farm land he is referred to as a stranger (ohohoo). Such a person is obliged to pay an initial 'token of thanks' fee (aseda) and an annual surtax for the use of farm land. There is a popular Akan idiom which states that 'a royal becomes a slave in someone else's country or political domain' (in Akan - Obidehye abeye obikurom donko). The implications of this statement are wide but can be taken to mean that a migrant, in a non-natal area, loses significant rights and privileges. The heirs to a stranger's farm estates are not recognised as citizens, no matter how long they reside there. In order to acquire citizenship rights, they must surrender their former citizenship or maintain dual citizenship. They are then required to render full services to the local Stool and the community. Following custom, such individuals introduce themselves firstly to their lineage head, over drinks, who will introduce them to the Chief by presenting drinks and paying a thanks fee. The Chief then drops the annual land surtax. Such people however could still maintain dual citizenship rights by paying homage to their original chiefdom. In doing so they take on numerous responsibilities.

3 (iv) SOME OF THE MAJOR CAUSES OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP

Lineages have therefore been refracted and widely dispersed over centuries of war and migration. Many travelled to what are now the Eastern and Central Regions of Ghana. However, in certain cases, some dispersed lineages have been able to reform themselves as chiefdoms out of the, so-called, remnants of war (akoaseman). I shall describe two examples, the first, which includes Domeabra, my natal chiefdom and contains the reformation of the Ofoase-Apaaso chiefdom, and second, the reformation of the new Juaben chiefdom.

In 1750, Ofoase-Apaaso Stool (in what is now South Pranum) refused to surrender its independence to the new Asante Kingdom. As a result of persistent wars with Asante, the Ofoasehene, Otumfour Ahenkora Kese, worked hard at promoting marriages[2] which would give him some political strength and uphold independence.

Ofoasehene and his subjects refused to surrender to the Asantehene and, in about 1850, they crossed the River Pra to Apaaso in Akyem Kotoku area which was, at that time, a British colony (Gold Coast) before eventually settling in the fugitive chiefdom of Akyem Kotoku, a former ally of Pranum. There, the new Chief of Ofoase was given land on which he rebuilt his chiefdom of Apaaso. Other subjects founded new townships in the same district. The Chief of Akyem Kotoku honoured the Apaaso Stool by placing it as second in command in the Kotoku chiefship hierarchy, an office which was referred to as Right Wing (Nifahene). Many of Ofoase-Apaaso's sub-chiefs later followed, and their Stools were placed under Apaaso's Stool.

After 1901, the Asante kingdom became a British territory. All the Chiefs who in previous years had fled from the Asantehene's army, many to the British colony, were freed to return to their former stool lands, the majority of which were still uninhabited, without retribution. The Apaasohene appointed a regent to the new Apaaso Stool and decided to return to Ofoase in 1910.

Some of the royals and their subjects remained at Apaaso under a regency. The Chief of Apaaso, however, Nana Afam Gyeabour, led the majority of his subjects to their ancestral home of Ofoase in South Pranum. He sent emissaries to all descendants of the ancient Ofoase-Apaaso chiefdom to help rebuild Apaaso at the new township of Ofoase. Some of the respective dispersed royals had meanwhile founded chiefdoms for example Domeabra in North Pranum. Others had founded in many other places chiefdoms. But the dispersed royals of Domeabra, and also Ofoase royals residing as in-married residents in Amantena-Bompata (my father's royal town; also North Pranum) chiefdom, supported the new chiefdom at Ofoase. Through being able to maintain these roots they continued to be treated, in Ofoase, as legitimate royals. This is another example of dual citizenship. In mid 1984 the Ofoase stool was elevated to paramountcy.

In 1992, an election for the position of Ofoasehene was held amongst the Ofoase royals resident at Bompata. There were two main candidates: the choice of the royals and the Queenmother's choice. There was a lot of opposition to the royal choice from the resident youth and from the Elders who, having heard accounts of his incompetence, rejected him in

favour of the Queenmother's nominee who had been the chosen successor of the deceased.

As there was much opposition, the case was sent to the Asantehene. The claims made by the Ofoase residents were rejected. The Asantehene recognised both the legitimacy of the Ofoase royals before anyone else and the competence of the non-resident royal proposed as Chief. Nana Ti Afun Ampatatwum was, therefore, enstooled as the new Chief of Ofoase (Ofoasehene). Here, despite long years of dispersal, ancestral rights and privileges are still extended to the dispersed royals as first citizens, irrespective of their present residence. At Bompata, the Ofoase Beretuo lineage holds a minor chiefship status as they were patri-children of Amantena Stool. Their full right as primary citizens and royals was legitimised by the enstoolment of their matri-kin (see above).

The new Juaben chiefdom is the second example of a 'reformed chiefdom' made possible by the presence of the Colonial administration. In 1875, the Juaben Stool rebelled against Asante Kingdom - against the Golden Stool. They founded a new chiefdom, New Juaben State, on land arranged for them in the Akyem-Abuakwa chiefdom in the British colony of Gold Coast. The land was negotiated with the Akyem chiefdom on behalf of the Juaben by the Colonial administration. After the Asante kingdom had come under the British colonial administration most of the Juabens returned to the ancient chiefdom stool land in Asante.

The King of Asante showed justice by restoring the Juaben chiefship and its lands to the royal lineage (Busia

1951/68: 53). There are thus two Stools of Juaben, one in Asante (their ancient homeland), the other in a new capital, Koforidua (in the area to which they had dispersed). Juaben royals have rights in both chiefdoms.

3 (xv) THE CRITERIA OF PRIMARY CITIZENSHIP

According to Kyerematen (1950: 28) and Fortes (1945, 1950), research findings, with regard to matriliny, confirm that a decisive criterion of citizenship is membership, by right of birth, of one's mother's matrilineal lineage. This is evident in Asante law, whereby an Asante is a person whose mother is an Asante (Asante Confederacy Council, 1935). This covers free-born Asante and many whose mothers are Asante by adoption or through earlier incorporation into a lineage. In state rhetoric to be Asante a person has to have primary citizenship in a chiefdom whose Stool has a matrilineal lineage which serves and owes allegiance to the Golden Stool. Here the lineage must have legal residence of domicile. Thus primary citizenship is not based wholly on residence in a village or a town of a chiefdom. Citizenship rights are different from farming or usufruct rights.

Richard Rathbone's recent study of citizens, among the Akyem-Abuakwa, a neighbouring Akan state, provides appropriate examples which demonstrate the difference between citizenship and tenancy. In October 1915 the Okyeman Council decreed that stranger farmers were 'tenants' of the local Stools, whose Chiefs were now to be regarded as an authority over them. However, so-called tenants living and working in Akyem-Abuakwa frequently resisted such authoritarian control

by arguing, with the colonial officials, that, while they recognised the idea of chiefly authority, they recognised in practice only the authority of their Paramount Chief, his state council and his tribunals (Rathbone, 1996: 514-515).

In order to further demonstrate this pattern I would like to give an account of my own citizenship. I was born and bred in my father's Stool town, Bompata, where my father was the Paramount Chief of Amantena Stool the traditional capital of which was situated at Bompata. I have a patri-royal right there as prince. These rights involve rights to land, honour as prince and right for enstoolment as Chief among the princes, I refer to my residential town as my father's natal home. My mother is a royal of the Domeabra-Owerriman Stool and following my mother's line my rights of primary citizenship are in Domeabra. I therefore have commitments to two stools and have rights in both (see example on Chapter 6).

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that the relationship between traditional positions of authority cannot be divorced from modern state agendas. Whilst the two have quite separate ideological histories, in practice, they do not exclude one another. Likewise, the examples provided demonstrate a consistency, wherein both matrilineal and patrilineal rights are important with regard to both social and political status. Whilst based in matriliny, political positions are contested by men. Associations between men, father-son etc. are thus important.

Other Ghanaians have described Asante in many diverse ways. Lystad, in his book 'Asante, A Proud People' put

Asantes in a very different perspective, but he did not explain his title in the context of his book. It is the invoking of Asante notions that make Asante special. This specialness can be seen in sustaining Asante kingdoms by the principles of matriliny. The way matriliny is tied up with chiefship, is dealt with in the following discussion.

3 (xvi) MATRILINY'S SURVIVAL IN CONTEMPORARY ASANTE

Many anthropologists have been pessimistic about the survival of matriliny into modern times, citing the way modernity disposes a shift in the inheritance system. I shall join this debate and then elucidate why matrilineal societies, other than the Asante, are disintegrating. I shall argue that the one factor that continues to sustain matriliny in Asante, even in the present-day changing situation, is the fact that the basic institution of chieftaincy is based upon it. I shall argue that the key to understanding whether or not matriliny survives in contemporary times is the nature of the political context in which it is set. Matriliny is maintained and respected because locals still respect chiefship which is matrilineal. Break circularity by regarding the links between chiefship and state - structural position of Chiefs in state order underlines the importance of their office, and hence its organising principle. Thus matriliny is vulnerable in acephalous societies, to which most of the arguments in the literature about the breakdown of matriliny refer. However, it is significant to note the debate on 'Matriliny' sparked off by David Aberle (1961) and Mary Douglas (1971), concerning whether the matrilineal system of Akans of Ghana

can survive in the contemporary global economy. Moreover, Douglas (1969) was one of the few anthropologists who confidentially predicted matriliny's future viability in general terms. In Douglas' view, there are internal strains and external pressures but matriliny still remains relevant. Certainly, in modern Ghana, it has survived socio-economic developmental problems, with lineage members mobilising their matri-kin in the 1983 bush fires and during later serious economic crisis. Of particular interest, is the fact that the Akan matrilineal system consists of strongly corporate lineages in which memberships are implicated in issues en bloc.

Goody is the main protagonist of the view that, in circumstances of modernity, matriliny is in jeopardy, which entails the loosening of ties between the wide range of matrilineal kinsmen and the strengthening of ties between fathers and sons. In his view, this process is associated with the rise of property and is connected with production for exchange which upsets the reciprocity of the matrilineal inheritance pattern: 'Among the LoDagaba the transfer of wealth outside the living-together group to distant uterine kin is based upon a recognition of reciprocity, so that what is lost in one transaction can be regained in the next. Large inequalities of fortune render such a mode of inheritance difficult to work, because they upset the co-operation of equal exchange; and nowadays people are more likely to hold wealth, since they can do more with it' (Goody 1962: 348). This corresponds with what Murdock said earlier (1949: 207):

power, property and prestige spell doom to the matrilocal principle.

Goody maintains that, the wide distribution of wealth, through a matrilineal system of inheritance, to close as well as distant kinsmen is only suitable within a poor egalitarian economy. This echoes Aberle's (1961: 655 ff) view, that matriliny survives in a "narrow ecological niche mainly in economies with a horticultural base ..." In such ecological circumstances, matriliny is often coupled with patrilocal residence, as among the LoDagaba. Goody gives a functional account of matriliny in this context. According to Goody, 'in societies in which residence is agnatically based, uterine inheritance produces a flow of property (cattle) between local units which like the passage of women between exogamous groups, widens the whole area of significant social relationships, but between kin rather than between affines'(Goody 1962:m 423). For the LoDagaba, Goody describes strategies whereby a man ensures that, at least part of, his wealth remains within the compound in which he lives, while the advantages of the uterine system of inheritance for the maintenance and creation of wider social relationships remain preserved.

For other writers, it is more that modernity reduces the scope of matrilineal ties. Colson (1961/1958) reports that among the Tonga, with the development of cash-crop farming and the increasing scarcity of fertile land, there is a tendency for matrilineal groups to break down, especially with regard to inheritance, into small groups composed of uterine sibling and their children. Fortes, on his part,

writes that, for Asante, as a result of intensive cash-crop farming, the maximal matrilineage loses its significance as regards the inheritance of property; a tendency has emerged whereby wealth was passed to the immediate descendants of the deceased's own mother (Fortes 1950: 261).

Subsequent writers have been more optimistic for matriliny, arguing that where it does break down it is for rather special economic reasons rather than because of economic inequality, the cash economy (etc.). Thus, Mary Douglas argues that 'it is not differentiated wealth, in itself, that causes rich men to favour their sons so much as scarcity in the basic resources'. I am in agreement with Douglas. As she says, 'In my view the enemy of matriliny is not the cow (for exchange) as such, not wealth as such, not economic development as such, but an economic restriction. Many societies changing from production of subsistence to production of exchange find themselves entering a very restricted economic field. Economic restriction ... produces a movement to close the ranks and restrict encroachment by other people. The emphasis is less on finding men to exploit resources than on an equitable fixed amount within a limited group' (Douglas 1969: 131). That is, father and son undertake an enterprise, and, for economic survival (given scarcity), must prevent encroachment from others, especially the father's matri relatives. In a similar view, Holy argues, of the Toka that 'neither increased wealth, nor the emergence of property differentiation, nor economic restriction, are in themselves sufficient conditions for an inevitable shift from uterine inheritance to inheritance by sons' (Holy 1979: 97).

Notions of matrilineage remain important. In the case of the Toka, the demise of matriliny is related to the more intensive co-operation of father and sons building durable capital property such as cattle.

Among present-day Asante, matriliny remains a vibrant social principle, importantly functioning in the context of modernity, albeit that the scope of matrilineal reckoning may be somewhat reduced and supplementary patrilineal inheritance norms may be involved alongside. This gives the lie to the observation of Professor Arthur Lewis (1955: 14), one time economic adviser to the Nkrumah government, in whose view extended kinship ties are 'almost certainly a drag on effort'. During the 1950s Lewis explicitly doubted whether matriliny (among the Asante) would bring economic success. Indeed, among the Asante, the corporate sub-lineage functions to distribute wealth fairly to the next generation, through its elders, making sure that all descendants receive equal economic shares. Moreover, when there is economic rivalry, between sub-lineages, over the use of the lineage landed estate, through the private court of elders an amicable solution is hopefully found. Even when there is protracted litigations between sub-lineages, the matrilineage does not collapse.

Among the Asante, the idea that matriliny is not compatible with economic growth is famously belied by its relevance in the organisation of cocoa farming. It is through clanship labour that Asante cocoa farmers have been successful in the Ghana cocoa industry (Hill, 1963). In particular, it was through the high cocoa productivity of

Pranum farmers that brought Ghana into its highest production peak at 580,869 tons in 1964/65 cocoa season (Ghana CMB Bulletin). Once cocoa had been introduced, some sub-lineage heads were more effective in organising labour. As a result of this there began great social differentiation. But the sub-lineage never disintegrates, its persistence being legitimised through mythical ancestral notions.

Most of the high production cocoa farmers invested their profits in businesses, like wholesale and retail stores, timber and transport businesses. They were able to improve the standard of living of their sub-lineage members and made investments in education and housing for both their patri-kin (i.e. children) and matri-kin. The entrepreneurship which allowed Asante to emerge as an economic force could not have been advanced without matrilineal organisation.

I argue that matriliny remains a crucial social principle among the contemporary Asante because it is a vital notion in relation to people's political interests. These interests have to do with kingship and chieftainship. We have seen that, in the context of political dualism in modern Ghana, the kingship/chiefship system constitutes a vital part of governmental administration. Moreover, since everyone is a 'royal' in their natal area (that is to say, in the locality where their matrilineage has its symbolic roots), all Asante have an interest in the continued importance of chieftainship system. In short, since rights to chieftainship are vested in the matrilineage, and since all crucial symbols relating to chieftainship have matrilineal connotations, matriliny remains central to Asante affairs in the modern world. It

follows both that the articulation by matriliny of many present-day economic activities is made possible by matriliny's political significance, and also that such economic arrangements symbolise the political importance of the matrilineal principle, especially as a corporate economic principle. In later chapters of this thesis I shall consider several such economic activities, those to do with migration and with social adjustment relating to the 1983 drought and bush fire, being the most remarkable. For the moment, we have that Article 22 of Ghana's most recent constitution, although it supports 1942 Asante Confederacy law that self-acquired property on the basis of a natural 'law of fairness' should devolve to both patri- and matri- kin, never interfered with the matrilineal principle of chiefship inheritance or the landed lineage estate.

Moreover, many wealthy cocoa farmers sent their children, matri-nephews and matri-nieces to study in the United Kingdom and United States. The majority of these family members return to Ghana as lawyers, accountants, doctors and engineers. It is interesting that the patrilineally-organised societies in Ghana have been much less successful in this.

Despite matrilineal inheritance, many cocoa farmers protected their patri-children's interest with regards to the father's own private estate or self-acquired property. There are therefore, many good father-son relationships.

3 (xvii) THE MATRILINEAGE AS A RESOURCE

Throughout Asante history, then, ideas to do with matriliny have been invoked by Asante as a means to mobilise and express important social groupings. Thus, matriliny has been continuously reproduced as a social principle and has afforded a distinctive Asante identity.

During the early history of Akans of ancient Ghana (in relation to ancient Ghana Empire (400-1100 AD), (see Adu-Boahen, 1984 - argument that culturally present Akans of modern Ghana at least Haas cultural relation with ancient Ghana; Danquah also has a similar argument).there was a period consisting of upheavals and displacement as a result of wars, Akan leaders summoned the notion of matriliny as lineages were mobilised to found new lands and rebuild new chiefdoms. In this period emerged kingdoms such as Bono, Adanse and Denkyira Kingdoms which continue to exist in present day Ghana (Meyerowitz 1952; Danquah 1929; Adu Boahen 1964; Rattray 1923, 1929; Wilks 1975). The above writers describe how the lineage head and the head of the women the de facto Queenmother - led the people to war or founded new settlements. Similarly, in the post-1800 wars with Britain, the Asante army captains were all lineages heads. In 1824, according to Asante history, when the Asante were at war with the Denkyira and the Denkyira Army was supported by the colonial army, the Asante troops met a lot of resistance from the allied troops. For example, the Domeabra Stool contingent was almost overrun by the allied troops, but the Domeabrahene invoked the value of a common Beretuo clan ancestress, inviting the Beretuo clan brothers of Mampon, Efidwase,

Gyamase and Apaa, under the commander Mamponhene, to reinforce the Domeabra army and save it from extinction. The combined Beretuo clan contingents resisted the army until reinforcements were sent by the Asantehene the next day. To remember that particular day, when Beretuo clan brothers fought vigorously to defeat the allied forces, the Asantehene honoured the Beretuo chiefdoms with what is known as 'The Oath Thursday' (Yaoada). In Chapter 10, it could be seen how the Chiefs of Beretuo Stools participated in the whole programme (from the burial ceremony to election of a successor). This event shows that matriliny is so closely associated with political context and continues to exist in modern Ghana.

Turning to very recent history, a long drought and the subsequent 1983 bush fires destroyed the economic base of cocoa farmers. Asante people's standard of living deteriorated. This economic crisis also pushed many young people to migrate to Nigeria and Ivory Coast. Also at this hectic economic time, Nigeria deported one million Ghanaians to Ghana. Most of these returnees had a rural base, to which they returned to link up with their relatives. The Asante household economy could not cope with these internal and external pressures. For example, the young returnees were now in competition for use of lineage lands, and, more than this they decided to concentrate on food crops instead of helping the lineage heads to rehabilitate the burnt cocoa farms. The already deplorable state of the Ghana economy meant that the government was unable to relieve these rural difficulties.

The lineage heads had to provide the solution, which they did through emphasising the value of matriliny.

The lineages heads called upon their matrilineal kinsmen overseas, particularly Britain, Germany, Italy, Israel, Holland, France, Belgium, Japan, Scandinavia, Canada, and United States of America to come to their families' rescue. Most of these overseas migrants returned home on visits and witnessed some of the worse situations affecting their natal households. They relayed all these problems to their fellow migrants overseas. The lineage heads organised the mass migration to overseas destinations of all able young men by appealing to kinsmen in overseas countries to invite them. The usual family remittance from overseas migrants was insufficient to solve the problem of kinsmen in Ghana who are in dire need. For the Asante, there is a maxim, "Feree ne wuo a fanyinam wuo" (To allow yourself to be disgraced, it is better to choose death). Overseas migrants are continually reminded by their family heads as well as by their parents, to think deeply about the economic problems at home, and their responsibilities to matri-kin, instead of wasting their money on luxurious lifestyles and attending discotheques.

Thus, Asantes continue to invoke notions pertaining to matriliny and, through this, the matrilineal principle is reproduced. But, above all, the incentive for summoning this principle relates to the structure of the state political administration. So long as royal rights and principles are reserved, in the organisation of the state, for members of matrilineage, so the devotion of social and economic energies

to matrilineal affairs will continue to be considered, by the Asante as more than worth while.

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1 The Central Province included the major chiefdoms of Kumase, Juaben, Mampon, Kumawu, Nsuta, Ofinso, Agona, Ejisu, Bompata, Domeabra, Agogo, Obogu, Juaso etc.
The Southern Province included Bekwai, Adanse (provincial headquarters - Obuase), Kokofu, Mansu-Nkwanta etc.
Western Province included Gyaman, Wankyi, Takyiman, Berekum, Wam, Ahafo, Odumase (Provincial headquarters - Sunyani).
The Northern Province included Nkoranza (Provincial headquarters - Nkoranza), Atebubu, Abease, Krakye. (Busia, 1968:102-105).

2 Otumfour Ahenkora Kese gave her sister Nana Biraso's daughter Amma Asiedua as consort to Kotokuhene - Frimpong Manso.

Inter-regional marketing would be a more viable alternative. As mentioned earlier a suitable relationship could be established between Ghana and the northern territories.

As far as shipment to Europe is concerned, this is beginning to happen with certain food crops such as banana, pineapples and yam. Once again, difficulties ensue due to the competitive prices offered by large scale mechanised farms which flood the market taking the price below that tolerable for small scale producers. Before 1983 prices for these goods would have been substantial.

Once again, let me reiterate some of the features I have described which are associated with radical devaluation. Countries producing agricultural goods for export are bound in what can be described as a relationship of patronage. Their patrons, the western capitalist institutions of commerce control the structuring of the economic arrangements.

Investment in tourism is one possible economic alternative for a country like Ghana. Tourists bring real foreign money into Ghana. Unlike cocoa, where devaluation did not help producers (under international price fluctuations), as the price was fixed in foreign capital, tourism benefited in that many more tourists were attracted to Ghana, believing they would now receive more for their money. Improving airport services remains a major issue, if tourism is to be promoted seriously. The Airport administration has to be improved to cut down on unnecessary delays on arrivals and departures.

It seems to me that the growth in the Ghanaian economy is geared solely towards the interests of the World Bank International Development Association (IDA). There is therefore no real progress in following the Structural Adjustment Policy. For the donors are interested in the extraction of the rich natural resources rather than helping the manufacturing sector. This has resulted in increased social differentiation with rich business men making good returns on exports. Likewise large scale cocoa farmers have benefited from the new measures.

In looking at the present situation from a variety of perspectives, environmental considerations figure prominently. There have been serious ecological consequences, such as the depletion of forest resources leading to widespread deforestation. Deforestation has led to very serious soil erosion. These environmental effects have been very noticeable in Pranum District. There are two deep mining companies - The Konongo-Odumase Mines and Obenimase Mines - working in this area, as well as surface mining in the Domeabra-Owerriman stool lands at Kwarkoko. The debate surrounding mining activities is very topical. In part, disputes arise over rights to land. The amount of land available for new planting is very small, compared to the area taken up by the Konongo-Odumanse mines. Soon, further investment in cocoa will have to involve new planting. A major problem is that the land is not as fertile as it once was.

In my 1993/94 Fieldwork I visited Oboase and witnessed the Asante Gold Mines (AGC) use of more advanced machinery to

blow up mountains surrounding Oboase township. The consequences of the associated pollution is beyond man's technological control. Not only does mining have negative environmental effects it is non-sustainable in that the resources cannot be renewed. It does not appear that experts have duly considered these concerns. If one looks at Oboase, there are deep strips marking the hills around the town. The AGC themselves have produced documents in which they admit they would have preferred not to have begun mining quite so close to Oboase township. Back then they had not been able to predict the resulting environmental consequences such as mineral pollution.

4 (vi) STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: THE NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

As outlined earlier, the SAP programme was an agreement signed between the PNDC Government, the World Bank and the IMF in 1983. The World Bank and IMF supported the external financing requirement for SAP which was estimated to reach US $650 million in 1983; US $452 million in 1984; US$ 408 in 1986; and US$ 247 million in 1990 (Hutchful 1989: 105).

From the accounts of Ewusi (1988: 63), in 1987 aid commitments were made by twelve donor financial institutions and seventeen countries amounting to a total of 1671.2 million US dollars. Ghana's external debt was recorded by the World Bank report in 1985 to be US$ 1.2 billion (Ewusi, 1988: 59).

Another report, issued by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), presented figures for the same year including short-term and other credits that

were excluded in the World Bank report, which brought the total debt to US$ 2.5 billion (Ewusi, 1988: 60). By 1989, Ghana's outstanding debt was US$ 3.1 billion (Africa Recovery, 6, 1991: 15), whilst in 1990 it was estimated to be US$ 3.6 billion (Euro money, 12, 1990: 5). In the same year (1990), Ghana received commitments from donor countries amounting to US$ 853 million. In May 1991, in Paris, by way of concessionary grants, Western donor countries pledged US$ 970 million. These grants exceeded the World Bank's recommendation of a minimum of US$ 850 million (Africa Recovery, 6, 1991 :36).

In March 1991, the International Monetary Fund had approved a US$ 4165 million loan for the third year of Ghana's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF). This total, incorporated $29 million intended to cover increases in oil import costs arising from the Gulf war crisis (Africa Recovery, 6, 1991: 36). As was surmised from my earlier discussion the devaluation of the cedi was extreme. It has been estimated by (Yeebo) that between 1983 and 1986, the cedi was devalued by 5,454 per cent. Let us draw some comparisons. In 1990-1991, US$ 1 was equivalent to 330-370 cedis. Whilst in 1983 US$ 1 was equivalent to 2.75 cedis.

The main goals of the second stage of ERP/SAP (1987 onwards) were designed to lay a 'firm base for sustainable self-reliant economic growth and long term balance of payments' (Republic of Ghana 1987: 10). Thus, the programme was to sustain economic growth; increase the level of public investment and domestic savings; improve the management of public resources and mobilise resources to improve the

quality of life of the citizens; particularly the under-privileged, deprived and vulnerable (Republic of Ghana, 1987: 10).

However according to ISSER report, with regard to the domestic and external performance of the economy during the 1987-1992 period, the rate of real GDP and GNP dropped from 5.0% in 1991 to 3.5% in 1992. This gave a lower average annual growth rate of 3.7% for 1990-1992 compared with the average rate for the period 1986 to 1989. The lower rate reflected a stagnation in per capita incomes over that period. Per capita national income decreased by 0.5% in 1990, increased by 2.7% in 1991 and only increased marginally by 0.9% in 1992 (ISSER 1993: 4).

During the first and second phases of ERP/SAP the government followed a policy of economic liberalisation, especially the measure of reducing government intervention in Ghana's economic and financial activities. New initiatives, it was hoped, would be financed by international donors and indigenous investors. However, when a country is in debt it is difficult to attract investors (see Dr Ishrat Hussain, Chief Economist for the World Bank 1993: 29-34).

According to Tangri:

"Foreign capital ... has expressed only limited interest in investing in Ghana. Political uncertainties surrounding the survival of the PNDC regime, the government's occasional anti-foreign and anti-imperialist rhetoric, as well as widespread feelings of economic nationalism, have affected the willingness of foreign business to participate in divestiture ... Additionally, Ghana's domestic private

capital has not shown much willingness to become involved in the divestiture programme. The poor financial and material condition of a number of the state owned enterprises may provide reasons "(Tangri 1991: 529-531/532).

Other contributing factors as to why there is lack of success in the divestiture of state owned enterprises (SOEs) was due to the Ghana Trade Union Congress' disagreement with the policy which maintained that, 'the right of people to work will be curtailed if the public enterprises are privatised', because the government is the largest employer in the country (Tangri 1991: 531).

In 1987, the rate of inflation fluctuated from 40% to 25% in 1989 and rose up to 37% in 1990. This rise in inflation was the result of increases in prices for petroleum products and other adverse developments in the domestic food supply (Botchway 1991: 3-4). From 1987 to 1991, out of approximately 350 state owned enterprises, only 49 had private financial support. These latter enterprises were mostly heading for liquidation and were generally not economically viable undertakings (Tangri 1992: 110).

According to Stein and Nafziger, by the end of 1980s, structural adjustment, which had been adopted by more than 30 sub-Saharan African countries was being generally criticised. Real annual growth, in GDP, in these countries averaged only 0.8 per cent for 1980-1988, compared to 4.8 per cent from 1965-1980 (Stein and Nafziger 29, 1, 1991: 173). The World Bank was criticised by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) with

regard to the social consequences of SAP. (Lipton and Shakow 1982: 16-19).

Dr Charles Mensah, Executive Director of Ghana Institute of Economics asks whether Ghana is the success story it has been made out to be?

"I wish the IMF and the World Bank would stop praising us. They want a success story to show their medicine is working. Unfortunately, Ghana is not the success story". (West Africa 15-21 May 1995: 756). Mensah believes that even if the economy was indeed growing by five per cent, the figures had little to do with reality. Rather, a growing money supply coupled with rising prices and plenty of imports combined to create the illusions of growth - "growth without development" (West Africa 15-21 May 1995: 756).

The social and economic consequences of ERP were more devastating than expected by its critics. Urban workers dubbed the new type of hardship imposed on them by the ERP as "Rawlings chain". This is a condition in which the hunger and misery imposed on the working people reach such absurd limits that their collar bones and ribs begin to show.

Ghanaian workers were not making fun of their misery, but providing the most graphic description of what the World Bank, the IMF, imperialist monopolists and their allies world wide have described as a "success story" (Yeebo 1991: 194).

According to Ewusi (1988), the net result of all the moneys that appear to have entered the country to help service debts and meet other obligations and expenses, is that Ghana remains heavily dependent on foreign aid (Ewusi 1988: 59). He went on to say that the ERP has not only

increased the level of indebtedness but has increased debt servicing to unrealistically high levels, making the country's economy vulnerable to external factors (Ewusi 1988: 60).

(a) World Bank/IMF and democratisation

In 1989, new indications of World Bank shifts in policy were delivered in its report 'From Crisis to Sustainable Growth' (1989) which linked aid to the question of good 'governance' which was defined as 'the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs (1989: 60). In other words, the World Bank was bringing into question the political authority and governmental skills of the government. As a result, the PNDC government set up a National Commission on Democracy. A series of debates, seminars and conferences were organised in all the ten regions.

Paragraph 5 of the corresponding government report states that 'the majority of Ghanaians are not against political parties' (New Africa 6, 1991: 29). In response to this report Professor Adu Boahen, head of The Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), reiterated that the commission's findings were "not truly representative of the will of Ghanaians" considering the atmosphere of fear, suspicion and intimidation in the country (New African 6, 1991: 29). In response to pressure from World Bank however, PNDC had no option but to accept multi party elections carried out democratically in the formation of the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

(b) The socio-economic consequences of ERP/SAP and peoples' responses

Louis de la Gorgendiere, in her study on education and development among the Asante, comments that Ghana, as a nation, has benefited highly from the World Bank ERP/SAP new loan policy (de la Gorgendiere, 1993: 67-70).

But according to de la Gorgendiere:

"Structural reforms that have political and economic dimensions penetrate the social sphere in ways that leave people demoralised, insecure, and in fear of their future existence. Only an authoritarian regime is able to implement the harsh programme for adjustment such as has been seen in Ghana" (de la Gorgendiere 1993: 236).

Thus the programme of ERP/SAP relating liberalisation of trade, redeployment of labour and extreme devaluation of the cedi are having very serious socio-economic effects at the local level. For example, according to Commander et al (1989: 125), in their study of the micro-level impact of ERP, the principal beneficiaries from raising the producer price of cocoa have been the large scale cocoa producers. Mean while the poor rural farmers have had difficulty in raising cash for their livelihood. The withdrawal of subsidies for farm inputs has also had serious effects on agricultural innovation. Urbanites, as well as students, have also suffered as result of the complete removal, in 1989, of subsidies on goods and services, redeployment and the loss of jobs, the replacing of student grants with insufficient loans, the paying of fees for education and health care, and increased prices in transportation and commodities. For

example, the price of a gallon of petrol was 400 cedis in 1990, 900 cedis in 1991 and 1600 cedis in 1993. All these effects are causing students and urban dwellers to rethink their support for government policies.

The open market policy has flooded Ghana's local markets with foreign goods, which is having serious repercussions for indigenous and local products. Ghanaian business people are living under the fear of uncertainty with regard to government taxes, import duties, etc. The government's tough import laws affect what overseas migrants can afford to send to Ghana such as used vehicles. This makes the migrants suspicious and sceptical of the PNDC/NDC governments. The property of the migrants, who cannot afford to pay the import duty, gets impounded and commonly finds its way cheaply into the hands of government party members. The authoritarian policies of PNDC have alienated most of the middle class intelligentsia (Ewusi 1988: 61).

As reported in West Africa (15-21 May 1995), Kwame Pianim, economist and member of the opposition of New Patriotic Party, states that:

"The ERP was built with the allowance that even the lowest levels of Ghanaian society would have to sacrifice and suffer for the benefit of the Country. Massive retrenchments, low wages, high unemployment, with all that hardship the stabilisation phase, which we are now in, relies on foreign grants".

According to Pianim, there is a lot of malnutrition and regular outbreaks of preventable diseases and after 12 years of revitalisation effort most of Ghana's money continues to

come from products which have always carried the country - gold, cocoa and timber. He concluded "unless diversification takes place and value-adding industries are established the outlook is bleak" West Africa 15-21 May 1995).

Other people add their voices. Attah Nyamekye, first vice-president of the Association of Ghana Industries states: "Industry is in distress ... We must produce if we don't build and export we can't survive as a country." (Jason Lothiam reports, West Africa 15-21 May 1995).

The social costs of ERP/SAP are creating misery for the people of Ghana, especially the poor and the children. This is causing concern. In 1987, the UNICEF study on Adjustment with a Human Face investigated the side-effects of SAP, showing that child welfare deteriorated in most of sub-Saharan Africa from 1980 to 1985, during the period when recipients of World Bank SAP loans were reducing social spending. These side-effects included an increased rate in infant mortality and child death, malnutrition, primary-school dropout, illiteracy, and non-immunisation. The fall in birth weight occurring throughout Africa also indicated declining welfare (Andrea, Cornia, Jolly, and Stewert 1987: 11-47; IDS Bulletin 1988; Bade Onimode Vol. 1, Vol. 2, 1989).

Cameron Duodu, the Ghanaian journalist, reports in the UNDP document (1990a: 24) that 'the standard of living in Ghana has eroded at a disastrous rate ...largely due to the devaluation of the cedi from 2.75 cedis to one US dollar in 1983 to 350 cedis to one dollar in 1990'. He cites a report from Kojo T. Vieta of the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) that the ERP/SAP removal of subsidies, in 1983, has

had repercussions relating to, an increase in the cost of living, which meant little money available for education in many households. At prices prevailing in March 1992, average household income was estimated at 480,000 cedis and this gives a national per capita income of 107,000 cedis. At the, then, prevailing exchange rate, this is equivalent to $540 per capita (West Africa 3-9 July 1995: 1058). In 1972, the per capita government expenditure on education was US$ 20, in 1979 it was US$ 10, and in 1983 it was US$ 1 (Yeebo 1991: 197). In 1987, the government instituted changes to modify the educational system by reducing the number of years spent in primary school, from 10 years to 8 years, and in secondary school, from 5 years to 3 years; the contents of education would be biased towards technical-vocational courses at certain levels.

In summary, one notes the report in West Africa (17-23 May 1993: 825), of a study published by Development Group for Alternative Policies (GAP) in conjunction with a number of NGOs, that ERP/SAP policies have "forced the nations of the south to increase their commodity exports in the face of declining world prices and to allow in cheap imports from unregulated companies. This has wiped out small producers, accelerated environmental degradation and increased control of the market by the international corporations".

The report attacks both the World Bank and the IMF for persistently citing Ghana as an example of how SAP's cure ailing economies and place them on a path to sustainable growth. It says, although the reality is that "there is overwhelming evidence of the programme's failure, it

continues to be used to legitimise adjustment programmes elsewhere on the continent".

According to Yeebo : "If the welfare of a population is the yardstick for measuring the success or failure of economic policies, then the ERP is not only an unqualified failure, but a national disaster from which Ghana will take decades to recover" (Yeebo, 1991: 197).

(c) The effects of ERP/SAP in other African countries

A UNICEF study shows that child welfare deteriorated - that is the rates for infant mortality and child deaths, malnutrition, primary school dropouts, illiteracy, and non-immunisation all increased - in most of sub-Saharan Africa from 1980 to 1985. During this period social spending was reduced by the recipients of World Bank SAP loans. In Tanzania, by 1987, the school enrolment rate of those aged 6-11 had dropped to 66 per cent as against 69 per cent in 1986 and 84 per cent in 1984. In January 1989, children were being turned away from schools because parents could not afford to pay their fees as well as feed them. In a sample of 13 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the real minimum wage fell by 22 per cent from 1975 to 1980. Falls were as much 39 per cent in Somalia, and in Ghana 80 per cent. The removal of subsidies, combined with devaluation, has led to a drop in the use of fertiliser and insecticides as well as a high price in staple foods in many African countries, such as Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Uma Lele 1990: 1215; Stein 1988: 85; Stein and Nafiger 1991: 174-183).

The crisis is manifested in the fact that giving birth has become a serious health hazard, and this has been accompanied by increasing indications of malnutrition in both adults and children. Women bear the brunt of structural adjustment through the intensification of their labour input to increase production. In many ways, women can be seen as the shock absorbers of liberalisation, because, wherever policies and development efforts have failed, women have been burdened with the task of readjustment. Women have to increase their contribution for the survival of the family and the community as well as looking after their young. Agricultural labour in Tanzania is heavily dependent on the physical labour power of women (Campbell and Stein 1991: 153-157).

The period from independence up to the nineties has been one of intense and binding relationships to world-wide economic forces. Political instability and bad luck have also contributed to the economic strife experienced by Ghanaians over these years, especially in the 1980s. In a nation without wealth traditional leaders are called upon by the people as they try to reorganise and take stock of their situation.

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1 Import-substitution industries are local industries established to produce commodities which, formerly, were imported, to protect the country's foreign exchanges .

2 According to the Busia government there were too many illegal immigrants in Ghana; also most criminal cases appearing in Ghana state courts were committed by those illegal aliens and there was illegal trading across Ghana borders. This policy was more political than the reasons given. For since 1930's there had been immigrant cocoa farm labourers who were never required to have stay permits. Nkrumah's African policy upheld united Africa, and Busia government policy encouraged Ghanaians to take over all small businesses including trading.

3 Nnoboa (do -sing. nno -pl.). Literally, do means weed, boa -help. This is the free work-force drawn from teenagers which rural farmers used to organise to support their respective families' family labour.

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT HUMAN FACE

In this chapter, I shall discuss the economic policies of post-independent Ghana and, in particular, the responses (post-1980), of both government and local people, to the economic crisis which led to the World Bank/IMF and Government of Ghana Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) and The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of 1983. At the same time, I shall review and insert internal economic trends at the local level, especially relating to cocoa farming, the principal cash export commodity throughout this period. This permits insights into the effects of SAP on local populations.

4 (i) GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES IN THE POST-COLONIAL STATE

(a) Nkrumah's CPP government

Ghana gained internal self-government from the British colonial administration in 1951. The Convention People Party (CPP) government under Dr. Nkrumah came to power at this time. In March 1957, Ghana attained full independence. During independence celebrations, Nkrumah declared that "Independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa (Kwame Nkrumah, 7 March 1957). Throughout the struggle for political independence, from 1948 to 1951, Dr. Nkrumah declared, "we prefer independence with danger than independence under tranquillity and servitude."

Nkrumah meant business. His policies were very clear. Ghana, under Nkrumah, led the way for all the colonised countries to demand independence and in the early 1960s many countries became independent nations. At the time of Ghana's independence, there was much hope for rapid economic development as Ghana had a strong economy based on mineral resources such as gold, as well as high cocoa exports. Unfortunately these hopes have not been realised in present-day Ghana.

The Colonial Administration created and maintained the preconditions for incorporating West African agricultural producers into the world capitalist economy. Very quickly, Ghana became a mono-crop cocoa economy, geographically focused on the central areas of the country. By the time of Self-Government, one third of the agricultural producers in Ghana were directly involved in the cocoa economy, including a large labour force drawn from the northern savannahs and from neighbouring countries.

The CPP government, which was granted independence in 1957, inherited colonial policies which contained elements of direct state intervention. The Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board (GCMB) obtained a monopoly over the cocoa industry through price stabilisation, rehabilitation of exhausted trees and control measures (relating especially a price fixing). Export duties were also redirected to ensure that a growing portion of cocoa wealth went direct to the Ghanaian government and into national development programmes.

Growing dependence on imported goods, especially food, was a feature of this period. Producer prices for cocoa were

far greater than those from the commercial production of food crops. Through increases in imported goods, money was continually flowing out of Ghana. To encourage diversification in agricultural practice an Agricultural Development Corporation was established. The government also created the Builders Brigade which acted as a para-militia to relieve unemployment. It was later transformed into the Workers' Brigade with food farming as its main activity.

After 1960, with a decline in public export earnings, the desire to institute major structural changes, in order that the country was not entirely dependent on cocoa, was reinforced. There were radical aspirations for planned industrial development with the support of several socialist countries of Eastern Europe. The import capacity of the economy was placed under heavy controls in order to restrict the overall volume of imports and to give priority to goods considered important for industrial development. The CPP government was pro-industrialisation. The Akosombo Dam with the Volta hydroelectric power station would, they argued, provide the necessary power for industrialisation (Beckman 1981: 148).

The industrialisation programme attributed special importance to particular agricultural processes. Two sugar mills, two cocoa mills, a jute bag factory, a meat processing plant and several vegetable oil mills, notably Nsawam Cannery, were commissioned. Other notable developments were the Volta Beef factory and Tomato Factories in Northern Ghana.

The Nkrumah Government also developed an atomic reactor at Kwabenya. The educational policies of the Nkrumah government were also significant. University College of Ghana was expanded and raised in status. It is now referred to as The University of Ghana. Kumase College was likewise expanded and its status raised to that of University of Science and Technology. A new University College was opened at Cape Coast as well as tertiary colleges in Winneba and three polytechnics in Accra, Kumase and Takoradi respectively. On a more local and widespread level a number of secondary schools and teacher training colleges were built, even in remote areas. Most of these initiatives had not long been introduced when the CPP government was overthrown.

When the Nkrumah government was overthrown, in 1966, in the face of strong criticism from international capitalist institutions as to its socialist economic policies, The Spokesman (national newspaper) presented a summary view of what the masses expected:

In 1966 Ghana stood at a cross-roads. With the right direction, the nation could have been saved, not for any privileged few, but for the broad masses of the people. Was it a revolution for the elite? (The Spokesman, February 27, 1971).

According to Hutchful, one of the immediate factors precipitating the coup was the disagreement between the International Monetary Fund and the Nkrumah Government as to how to resolve the crisis in Ghana's 'socialist' development (Hutchful, 1979: 3). Hutchful (ibid.) asks the following question in consideration of the 1966-1969 period: why did

the Ghana economy, after a much publicised application of IMF austerity after that coup, enter a period of dipping stagnation and underdevelopment from which, more than a decade later, it has yet to recover?

The critics of Nkrumah's government easily forgot that it was the Nkrumah government which had set up an infrastructure as a foundation for national socio-economic development. They should also have noted that the colonial policy of divide and rule had bequeathed to the new nation an ideological vacuum. With this colonial heritage, which restricted the integration of the various diverse ethnic groups and established artificial boundaries, there was a need for an ideology for both political and economic development. Be they Nkrumahist socialist political philosophies (also propounded by Kaunda) or African socialism backed by Ujamma and propounded by Nyerere, these ideologies were not the cause of the economic failures in Ghana, Tanzania or Zambia. Nkrumah had declared that, 'Africans will no longer be drawers of water and hewers of wood'. In addition through the 1961 Accelerated Educational Development Policy, there was a drastic shift whereby education became available not only for the privileged few. Nkrumah's education policy was 'education is not only free but compulsory (Ministry of Education, Kwame Nkrumah Accelerated Education Policy, 1961, Accra).

The factors which did lead to an economic crisis in Ghana in the Nkrumah era are outlined by Hutchful (1979:3-4). There was a period of export-led growth and prosperity which led to the development of a semi-industrial structure and

socio-economic infrastructure based around state and extensive foreign credits. This was followed by a sudden fall in primary commodity prices and complications with the balance of payments which, in turn, were accentuated by failures in the import-substitution industry[1] and domestic agricultural stagnation. (These are familiar elements of the structural crisis facing virtually every African country today). According to Hutchful (1979), IMF/Ghana documents suggest that one of the immediate factors precipitating the 1966 coup was the disagreement, between the International Monetary Fund and the Nkrumah Government, as to how to resolve the crisis in the terms of Ghana's 'socialist' development. Other conservative governments such as Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Kenya were hailed as gradualist in comparison with the radical policies of Nkrumah .

But, today, the so-called gradualist or conservative governments of most African countries have responded, or are responding, in the context of similar crises, in ways similar to the measures adopted by Nkrumah. Some of these measures included state intervention, regulation of import controls, and even the nationalisation of multinational companies (the last of which was rejected by Nkrumah's government). Nkrumah's political ideas on Pan-Africanism, African Unity, African High Command, and support for liberation movements, have all been subsequently accepted by OAU. Several contemporary leaders are much more radical than Nkrumah. Whilst Nkrumah was in Hanoi he was overthrown by disgruntled military leaders who thought they knew what was politically and economically good for Ghana. The 1966 coup has proved

very controversial and the rhetoric surrounding post 1966-coups asserts that Ghana's economic crisis in the Nkrumah era was not due to Nkrumah's socialist economic policies.

Nkrumah envisaged the economic transformation of Ghana on the basis of collaboration between the state and private capital in a 'big push' towards industrialisation. According to Hutchful: in this 'dual mandate' high returns would be received from finance inputs, but in return those investors would be expected to be laying the technological foundations for transition to an independent socialist Ghana (ibid. 4-5).

The guiding ideological principles of Nkrumah's socialist vision were not always practised by his fellow party members who were more often concerned with practical gain. In spite of all these weaknesses the Nkrumah government, especially economically, was much more impressive than post 1966-governments. There was substantial nationalisation and control of crucial sectors like banking, insurance, import and export, a greater international distribution of trade and gold mining. Urban infrastructures were developed, financed through state appropriation of cocoa surplus (cocoa exports rose by over 200% between 1960 and 1965) and, although still dependent on imports, there was a major shift in the composition of imports from consumer to capital goods and raw materials. In addition the government provided free education and medical care, the first African country to do so.

(b) The National Liberation Council (NLC)

It was senior officers of the Ghana army and police, led by General Ankra (retired), General Kotoko, Captain Afrifa and Inspector General of Police Harry, who overthrew the Nkrumah government in February 1966. Nkrumah was on a peaceful mission to Hanoi at the time. Whilst in the midst of a small industrial revolution, with the economy diversifying in many ways, the NLC government brought these emergent changes to a halt. Trade deficits were magnified, which led to a deficit in central government funds. While there had been a bumper cocoa crop, profits were not realised as there was a catastrophic fall in international cocoa prices (Beckman, 1981: 150). The new military regime wanted to stabilise the economy through economic liberalisation policy.

This policy was encouraged by Ghana's creditors, namely western capitalist countries including Britain. Kwame Nkrumah's Seven Year Economic Development Plan for industrialisation was rejected and other projects such as the Kwabenya Atomic reactor were abandoned. Many university lecturers and technical advisors, considered socialists, were dismissed without consideration for the vacuum in education that was created. But, attempts on the part of the new government to transfer public enterprises to private owners, such as the transfer of state rubber plantations to the US multi-national company Firestone, came under heavy criticism, particularly from the intellectual elite, trade union leaders and from former members of CPP. There were strong nationalist sentiments against privatised industry. But the NLC government justified privatisation by asking whether the

terms of agreements Nkrumah had used to attract foreign investment were favourable to Ghana. This is a point which has often been raised with regard to Ghana and with regard to development studies in general. The setting in which Nkrumah stood, on January 22, 1966, to deliver his last important speech, accepting the American "dual mandate," was indeed appropriate. Before him lay the gigantic Volta dam, built with foreign capital, blocking off a mighty African river. African resources and United States capital combined to provide cheap power for a German-owned smelter, stoked with the raw material mined in another neo-colony (Jamaica). The finished ingots would be shipped back to the land of the mandatory power to be sold for industrial purposes.

As Fitch and Oppenmeimer write,

"Thus it is that the doctrine of peaceful coexistence in one country leads back inexorably to the colonial mode of production. In the colonial era, the African chief granted mining rights or use of the land to the foreigner for a few pounds yearly: now, in the post independence era, the African President grants use of the rivers for a somewhat larger sum. The whole process works on a much more sophisticated level but the essential relationship remains the same - as do the living standards of the people of the mandated country" (1966: 127).

The liberal policies of NLC were viewed, by contemporary opponents, negatively as both imperialist and capitalist. The state farms, formerly run with the aid of machinery, were allowed to fall into a state of disrepair. Farmers were arbitrarily laid off. The Farmers Council was dissolved after

the coup and its cocoa purchasing monopoly discontinued. Alternative associations and the old, dissolved co-operatives were given the licences to buy cocoa. These new buyers accumulated large debts. The NLC government cared only for their own enrichment. Both the welfare state and industrial development were neglected. The government created widespread social problems: thousands were laid off without the availability of alternative employment. Numerous socio-economic problems were inherited by the civilian Progress Party Government which came to power in 1969.

(c) Progress Party government under Dr Busia

Following democratisation, the Progress Party Government took power from NLC in 1969. The Busia government encouraged privatisation and introduced numerous western advisors and consultants. They proposed rural development policies such as the provision of clean water, electricity and better housing for rural areas. In doing so, they hoped to encourage the young school-leavers to stay in the rural areas and farm. Funds for the rural development policies were, however, in short supply.

The Aliens Compliance Order[2], introduced by the Busia government expelled immigrants, many from neighbouring west African countries, without valid work permits. This created a large hole in the agricultural labour force (Addo 1970). The cocoa farm labourers were officially exempted from mass deportation, but as most were illiterate and there were also misunderstandings of the Order, many had difficulty securing permits.

Local food prices continued to rise more than other commodities as a result of a decline in food production. The State Farms and organisations such as The Workers Brigade had been abandoned already by the NLC government. Workers demanded more wages in response to rising costs. These issues came to a head in a subsequent clash between Ghana TUC leaders and the Busia government. The cedi was also devalued at this time. The Busia Progress Party government was not given enough time to realise its economic policies. The damage done by the NLC government, setting back both the industrial and economic development of the Nkrumah government, was consequential to the military coup of 1972 led by General Akyeampong.

(d) The National Redemption Council and the Supreme Military Government

By January 1972 dissatisfaction had grown with the Busia government, in conjunction with the devaluation of the cedi, as a result of Ghana's foreign payment crisis. This was caused by a decline in export earnings and attempts to liberalise import controls. The devaluation and restrictions on imports caused sharp price rises, particularly for food which was obviously of great concern to the population. The situation was not a new one for the people who had experienced earlier social unrest in the aftermath of the 1966 coup.

On 12 January 1972, Akyeampong's government made the following economic assessments: the total amount of external debt arising out of medium-term suppliers' credits was U.S

$294 million. The interest which would accrue on these debts as they have been rescheduled at present amounts to another $72 million. Long term debts also totalled $231 million. In addition to these there are added short term debts totalling some US 428.26 million made up of arrears on import payments of US$ 66.96 million; 180-day credits of US$ 138.82 million; and arrears on service payments of US$ 80.48 million.

Akyeampong declared:

"It will be readily appreciated from the foregoing figures that Ghana's external debt problems have assumed major dimensions and that the difficulties these debts pose for the well-being of our people are indeed formidable". He continued to state that it was well known that the medium size debts, arising from supplier's credits concluded before 24 February 1966, have been the subject of various debt settlement conferences between previous governments of Ghana and the governments of creditor nations. What needs to be emphasised, at this stage, is that a substantial number of these contracts were inimical to the interests of Ghana (Akyeampong policy statement on Ghana Foreign debts, 1972; Quoted by Hutchful, 1979: 281)).

According to Hutchful (1979: 281), the reports of several commissions of enquiry and other like investigations established that some of these contracts were tainted by corruption and other forms of illegality. It became apparent that a substantial amount of finance received on credit by suppliers was given to projects without carrying out feasibility studies to establish their viability. The prices quoted in respect of these projects were inflated, and the

repayment terms did not admit of the projects generating sufficient resources to amortise the debts. These conclusions are sustained by the findings of impartial international institutions such as the World Bank, which went on to say that while the Nkrumah regime cannot escape responsibility for entering into such dubious transactions, a substantial part of the blame can equally well be attached to the governments of creditor countries, as well as the contractors, for promoting and guaranteeing these contracts.

The NLC and Progress Party governments negotiated with creditor countries for debt relief on the basis that, although the debt obligations were valid, they could not pay them. All efforts, on the part of these Governments to obtain long-term debt relief from creditor countries, in 1966, 1968, and 1970, ended in failure. The National Redemption Council maintained that the external debts which remained after the 1966, 1968 and 1970 settlements drastically limited the ability of any government of Ghana to provide the basic necessities of life for the people or to carry out any modest programme of economic development and growth. The settlement proposed by outsiders was based upon the premise that Ghana would persist in a policy of harsh stabilisation measures with attendant reduction in living standards and the retrenchment of human as well as material resources.

In the light of this, although in no way wanting to pander to the policies of the west, the Akyeampong government introduced strong state policies. In contrast to Nkrumah's anti-capitalist policies, the Akyeampong government remained politically independent in that it attacked both socialist

and capitalist styles of government. Akyeampong introduced a programme called Operation Feed Yourself as the foundation for Ghana's new economic policy for self reliance. Great emphasis was placed on food production. This was, in fact, an earlier policy of Kwame Nkrumah in the early 1960s. Once more investments were made in state farms and mechanisation services such as the Shai Hill rice farming project and rice and yam farming projects in Northern Ghana which had, until then, been in the hands of private farmers. Consequently, there was an increase in food supply in 1974-75, particularly in rice and yams. The Ministry of Trade placed a ban on the import of rice in 1975. The Ministry claimed Ghana was now self-sufficient in rice and maize. Maize was at this time exported to other African countries. Despite claims of high output, prices continued to rise. This was, perhaps, due to the sharp increases in the price of petrol. Subsequent poor rains in 1975, 1976 and 1977 caused seriously high increases in food prices. By 1979, when the Akyeampong government was overthrown, food prices were far above other essential commodities. Inflation had risen to 100%.

The traders started hoarding stock which further increased prices. The government blamed the traders and added that some traders were smuggling food products into neighbouring countries. The government took drastic measures to control prices and check the hoarding of essential commodities. The state tried to participate in food marketing through the Food Distribution Corporation without, however, much success.

According to Akuffo's 1978 budget statement, the average rate of inflation was 80% per annum between 1971 and 1977. Government borrowing from the banks, particularly the Bank of Ghana, grew from 17 million cedis in 1973 to 719 million cedis in 1976/77 (West Africa 16 Oct. 1978). Agricultural products were smuggled to and from neighbouring countries. The standard or official economy became very much affected by black market operations. Rising oil prices aggravated the problem. The government by-passed the traditional farmers and offered strong support for private capitalist farming particularly the northern rice scheme. Shepherd (1979) discusses the effects on the peasants in the hinterland of the expansion zone. Ironically these were the same policies as those of the Busia government, which Akyeampong came to criticise. For example, Akyeampong's policy of Operation Feed Yourself is a Busia policy by another name. Institutions such as government works units, universities, schools etc. were encouraged to produce their own food. Schools, for example, would have their own gardens worked by both staff and pupils. The commercial banks, particularly the Agricultural Development Bank, heavily subsidised inputs of fertilisers and machinery. Many urban workers, civil servants, army officers, etc. had to maintain good relationships with the banks.

The Akyeampong government also urged foreign companies to participate in large-scale agricultural projects. In 1974, they offered special incentives which included an entitlement to an accelerated share of profits. It was in this light that numerous companies were encouraged to invest in Ghana, such

as VALCO, an American aluminium factory and Ghana National Investment Bank, which established a rice farm worth 30 million cedis.

The Akyeampong government directly or indirectly adopted the same agricultural policies as Nkrumah and Busia. The military in Ghana came to power through criticising the policies of the previous government, which they then went on to overthrow. Once in power, they rejected existing policies without due consideration as to their possible merits. Instead of working with what they already had, they introduced new policies which led to further economic difficulties.

The Akyeampong government, having declared Operation Feed Yourself a success, shifted to Operation Feed Your Industries. The policy of Operation Feed Your Industries concerned the supply of raw materials for the local manufacturing industries. Most of the agro-based factories had been abandoned by the NLC military government in 1966. Other agro-based projects, founded by the Nkrumah government, were of much lower productivity. Operation Feed Yourself and Operation Feed Your Industries were praised by the people but they could not sustain positive results after initial successes.

The government placed great emphasis on commercial farming. They established 30 cattle ranches costing 20 million cedis, while the National Investment Bank, with support from the African Development Bank, established a 4000 hectare cotton project in Brong-Ahafo. Part and parcel of this process was that small scale farmers were increasingly

left out in terms of national agricultural development. Cocoa farmers were likewise not given the necessary price incentives. In the 1973/74 cocoa season, the Akyeampong government did well from a world cocoa price boom. The profits however were not used to help the poorer farmers.

In the 1960s, it had been a fall in cocoa prices which had led to the fall of the Nkrumah government. A fall in world cocoa prices also contributed to the decline of the Progress Party government under President Busia. Nkrumah had identified the dangers of Ghana's dependence on cocoa. Thus in his Seven Year Development Plan he introduced plans to diversify the Ghana economy particularly with regard to agro-industries and the restructuring of state farms supplying raw materials to the factories. This all changed with the subsequent military coup.

A decade later a different government faced different but related problems. Successes have consistently been mitigated by other disabling factors. Between 1973 and 1977, the price for a tonne of London destined cocoa rose from less than £600 to as much as £3000. By 1978 the price had stabilised at about £2000. High domestic inflation however undermined these improvements. Many farmers smuggled cocoa to the Ivory Coast and Togo. In doing so, production figures for cocoa yields in The Ivory Coast overtook that of Ghana.

After 1970, Ghanaian cocoa was adversely affected by crop disease and pests in the old production areas. In response cocoa farms were established in new areas such as in Wassa and Sehwi in the Western Region. The government supported technological development to raise cocoa

production. Large estates and plantations were propagated as more efficient, despite an awareness, as reported in the media, that there would be adverse effects, unemployment and urban migration to name but two (West Africa, 8 May 1978).

The Busia Government introduced a World Bank sponsored cocoa rehabilitation scheme in the Eastern Region which was later extended to central Asante. The success of cocoa rehabilitation was to be realised, in 1983, when the bush fires destroyed most of the rehabilitated cocoa farms. In 1975, the Akyeampong government set up The Ministry for Cocoa Affairs. Attempts were made to improve the local purchasing system. The monopolisation of cocoa trade, previously introduced by Nkrumah in the late 1950s, and abolished in the 1966 coup, was reintroduced in 1977, this time under the direct control of The Cocoa Marketing Board. According to Beckman (1981: 158-165), the cocoa boom drew renewed attention to the potential generative wealth of the cocoa industry. The government maintained, quite correctly, that poor management and political fighting had stood in the way of success.

The Akyeampong Government was overthrown by Lt. General Akuffo in an Office coup (forced to resign by his senior military officers), in 1978, during a period when Ghana was suffering serious economic problems. Akyeampong agitated for a United Government, despite strikes led by professional bodies. Then, in June 1979, when the Akuffo government had just come to power with former members of the Akyeampong government, the junior officers of the Ghana Army overthrew the Akuffo government. The junior officers' government of Arm

Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), led by Jerry Rawlings, proposed measures against corruption, and in December 1979 they handed over power to Hilla Limann's Party.

(e) The AFRC government

The Hilla Limann government was short lived; the AFRC took power again on 31 December 1981. The AFRC members which toppled Limann government formed a government under what was called the Peoples National Defence Council (PNDC).

The PNDC government, under Lt. Jerry Rawlings, despite initial rhetoric against capitalist institutions, quickly realised that Ghana's economic problems could only be solved by negotiating with precisely such institutions, like The World Bank and The International Monetary Fund. It was during this period that Ghana submitted to the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) and the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

4 (ii) LOCAL LEVEL ECONOMIC TRENDS

Complementary to economic trends at the governmental level, local Ghanaian communities were caught up increasingly in a developing cash economy. In Asante land this most prominently concerned cocoa production.

In 1902, the colonial administration introduced a Poll Tax. In consequence local people were forced to find a cash income to meet the new economic demand. Also, numerous western products were introduced to the market, promoting new cultural tastes and dependency. Roads were built to access mining centres for gold and other minerals. Cash crops were

also introduced. People had two main alternatives for earning money: mining work or farming. The majority of Asante made investments in agriculture. My concerns here are with the socio-economic development of the cocoa industry.

In 1879, the introduction of cocoa by the Ghanaian migrant Tete Quashie from Fernandopo (now Equatorial Guinea) to his native home of Mampon-Akuapem brought with it new socio-economic changes (GCMB Research Paper, 1993). As cocoa farming became more and more established less time and money was invested in food and other subsistence production. Cocoa farmers were concerned to use large stretches of matrilineal farm land over which they had usufruct rights. Subsequent introductions included: new farm technology for large specialised cash tree plantations, initially established from virgin forest; the nursing of seedlings for food crops; new farm techniques; and the instigation of the large local District Co-operative Society in place of the traditional nnoboa (working group)[3]. As a result of extensive farming, family labour was exhausted and with children becoming engaged in education, people sought to recruit wage and annual contract labour. The migrant cocoa farm labourers (from Northern Ghana and other West African countries) were given the chance to manage cocoa farms as new areas were opened up. The gradual involvement of migrants in cocoa management gave them the experience from which to become sharecroppers (Hill 1963).

The distinctions I have made, with regard to cocoa periods, relate to ecological and socio-economic changes. I

divide the twentieth century (thus far) into 6 main periods of cocoa production.

Between 1901-1930, the farmers acceptance of cocoa production was offset by low producer prices. At times the producer had no market. From 1901 to 1930 production output therefore was very low.

The second period (1930-1950), is marked by a significant expansion in the industry and a corresponding crisis in labour supply, which the second world war, when great members of men were recruited to fight, only exacerbated. From 1930-1938, more Asantes had become involved in Cocoa farming. Areas like Akuapem and Akyem, where cocoa was introduced early on subsequently paid less attention to food crops. Between 1930 and 1940, a man, his wife or wives and children, with the support of matrilineal nephews, could acquire more land (from virgin forest). This period, from 1930-1940, could be characterised as the exploitation of wives and children in acquiring cocoa farm lands for the matrilineal family. In 1935, the Asanteman Council attempted to pass a law so as to allow the wives and children to have a share in the farm estate of the father. A compromise was proposed whereby the father was free to give part of the share of his estate of his own acquisition to his wife or wives and children. This marked the beginning of the period which saw women leave their matri-family to devote their full attention to what, in effect was the husband's project of enlarging his cocoa farm. The couple would likely build a hut in the man's farm area whilst working on an area of virgin forest.

During this period Asante cocoa farmers became increasingly concerned with the education of their children. Education of children became a prime matri-family concern. Men had dual responsibilities to both patri- and matri-children and would be concerned that their sister's contribution to her husband was being repaid through the husband investing in the education of her (i.e. the matrilineage) children.

1940-1950 can be characterised by social re-organisation. Many of the younger generation, because of education, had become detached from family labour concerns. Cocoa farmers turned therefore to the availability of migrant labour. Many cocoa farmers, who had been able to develop a healthy production capacity during the 1940s to 1950s, helped other, less-established, cocoa farmers to hire daily wage and annual contract labour. The traditional system, the nnoboa (working group) was replaced by contract labour in the 1940s (Source: Interview with Kofi Baafi, 1994). After the second World War many ex-service men engaged in cocoa farming. Interestingly, it was at this time, in 1947, that the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board was constituted which enforced a government purchasing monopoly. During the 1940s, households were competing for more land. More Asantes were leaving their traditional marital homes for less populated areas, such as Sefwi and Wassaw. The Asante farmers were increasingly becoming absentee farmers, occupied with farming outside Asante land, and some became mere farm supervisors in relation to their traditional areas. The actual maintenance of Asante cocoa farms was increasingly left in the hands of

migrant cocoa labourers as sharecroppers and annual contract labourers.

Between 1950 and 1970, the third period, governments, notably that of Nkrumah, made significant investments in the development of modern urban infrastructure. Cocoa production was encouraged in order to finance these programmes. Many people renovated their homes or built new ones and increasingly filled these homes with western goods. This, along with the cost of covering school fees, required sound financial planning. Along with growing urbanisation, improvements in social services were made in both rural and urban areas. Substantial financial inputs were required to this end. Direct and indirect taxes (surtax) were levied, particularly by Town Development Communities, for development projects such as schools, health care facilities, feeder roads, post offices, etc.

The fourth period, 1970-1980, was a bad economic period for cocoa farmers. There was a gradual decline in cocoa production due to the ageing of both cocoa farmers and cocoa trees, and an acute shortage of labour due to 1969 Aliens Compliance Order which required all foreigners without legal documents to leave the country (Addo 1970). The 1950s absentee farmers were farmers who left to farm cocoa elsewhere. By the 1970s, new or real absentee cocoa farmers were now urban businessmen who used their money from alternative economic ventures to acquire more cocoa farm lands through contract labour and sharecropping (yomayenkye).

The yomanyenkye contract was taken up by young, poor men who had no capital of their own from which to acquire their

own land. They would thus be employed by the 'absentee' urban businessmen to maintain the farm and harvest the crops. In return, their employer would pay money for basic maintenance, clothing and a few other things. In this sharecropping agreement the sharecropper is allowed to assume complete usufruct rights over one third of the land, and take the entirety of its products. In addition he has the first option to look after the products from the remaining two thirds, for which he receives one third of these products.

With the decline of cocoa production, from the 1970s onwards, there were further socio-economic costs which had to be met by the cocoa farmers. As urban dwellers and businessmen were succeeding in business, particularly in trade, the rural cocoa farmers were failing. Declines in cocoa production affected the standard of living of rural farmers. They were no longer in a position to contribute to social demands, such as higher level of education of their children and financial support to poor members of the family, and could not consider making investments in housing, unlike their urban counterparts. Whilst the urban dwellers sent their children to good schools, such as international schools, their counterparts could not afford even the expenses of the state or government schools. Furthermore whilst successful urban dwellers were leaving Ghana for Europe and North America, the rural farmers' children and relatives, with more restricted capital, migrated to neighbouring African countries such as Nigeria and Ivory Coast. Also, within Ghana, rich and poor became equitable as urban dwellers. Although the cocoa was being produced in the

rural areas money was being pooled and spent in the towns whose superior facilities were a considerable attraction.

The fifth period, 1980-1985, is of particular interest to me. In 1981, there was further military intervention and the consequent economic crisis forced many Ghanaians to seek refugee status in Europe and North America. Many Ghanaians were forced to leave in order to survive. The consequent severe rural depopulation led to an acute shortage of labour and there was, therefore, no viability in producing cocoa during this fifth period. Between 1982 and 1983, there was a long drought which preceded a serious and very extensive bush fires which swept through Ghana in 1983, destroying about 137,000 hectares of cocoa farms. In response, the government initiated a nation-wide replanting exercise. The Cocoa Services Division, the extension wing of the Ghana Cocoa Board, was in charge of this exercise (Ghana Cocoa Board Hand Book, 1987).

The Cocoa Services Division discovered that 60 thousand hectares of the burnt farms required fresh replanting. The rest could be rejuvenated. By 1986, the beginning of the final period, about 46,840 hectares of the burnt cocoa farms had already been replanted with hybrid seedlings produced from high yielding and early bearing seed pods supplied from the seed gardens of the Cocoa Services Division. The remaining 13,950 hectares of burnt farms that needed replanting were replanted during 1986 planting season (Ghana Cocoa Board Hand Book 1983: 21-22).

4 (iii) THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME (SAP)

The Third Republic of Ghana (1979-1981), under Dr Hilla Limann, had only been in existence for 28 months (of a term which was supposed to last for 48 months) when Rawlings staged a coup d'état. Rawlings' second coming was now part of what was becoming a familiar story of military interference in civilian affairs. This was on 31st December 1981. He had to face the concomitant problems of drought, bush fires and famine. Additionally some 1,000,000 Ghanaians were expelled from Nigeria in 1983. These people had to find work and homes; most returned to their rural homes as reported by Ray (1986: 129).

Adu Boahen (1989: 41) argues that Rawlings had every opportunity to form a political party as he pursued his quest for leadership. In forming the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) he legitimated his political position through introducing an apparently democratic element to Ghanaian politics.

According to Yeebo (1991), PNDC declared the following goals: greater accountability of those in public office, the democratisation of decision-making and the safeguarding of people's rights, with the aim of purging the country of kalabuleism (corruption and profiteering), neo-colonialism and imperialism (Yeebo, 1991: 8). The effects of the fire on the nation's economy were devastating. In 1982, with the economy in disrepair, Rawlings, it would seem, had little alternative but to negotiate with the IMF for help. An Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) was drawn up by the PNDC

government. According to a PNDC report (1982: 24-25) the objectives of the ERP were:

(1) To restore incentives and thus increase exports.

(2) To supply the market with essential goods.

(3) To increase the availability of foreign exchange.

(4) To lower inflation.

(5) To rehabilitate the social and physical infrastructure.

(6) To restructure the various economic institutions in the country.

Despite the early anti-imperialist and anti-colonial rhetoric of the Rawlings regime, the PNDC agreed to the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The World Bank Structural Adjustment Policy was designed to revamp the economy of Ghana and its consequences are central to my research. The reality of the situation for many PNDC members, was that, despite negotiations between the PNDC and The World Bank, there were those of strong socialist persuasion who did not want to enter into an agreement with such capitalist institutions. According to Hutchful (1989: 102-103), proponents of the agreement were forced to strike a deal in secret. The programme, I maintain, was not successful and survival was only achieved through indigenous, local responses. In subsequent chapters of this thesis I will demonstrate how the Asante people have used principles of matriliny to respond to the impacts of Structural Adjustment Policy and the subsequent withdrawal of subsidies, particularly in the areas of public finance, education, health care. Water supply and sanitation were also stopped.

4 (iv) THE GHANA ECONOMY AND AGRICULTURE

A decline in alternative cash and food cropping was the result of the Ghanaian government's (1975-1982) agricultural policies and dependency on cocoa. The concerns of small scale farmers were by-passed in favour of commercial farming and the international cocoa market. Ghana's cocoa exports reached a maximum output of 580,869 tons in the 1964-1965 production year. At this time, Ghana was one of the world's leading cocoa producers. Exports, however, had diminished to 158,956 tons in 1983-1984 (see Table One). This decline in cocoa production was a result of swollen shoot disease. Another major cause of decline in output was due to diminishing yields in the existing tree-stock, because of ageing, soil exhaustion and disease (Gareth Austin, ICS, Seminar 20 March 1987).

TABLE 1: Ghana Cocoa Production, 1960/61-1993/1994

YEAR	PURCHASES (Q4) in tons	PRODUCER PRICE (Q5) ¢
1960/61	437,304	264.47
1961/62	415,961	264.47
1962/63	428,484	264.47
1963/64	427,782	264.47
1964/65	580,869	264.47
1965/66	415,762	176.32
1966/67	381,353	198.35
1967/68	430,665	238.76
1968/69	355,588	257.12
1969/70	417,457	293.86
1970/71	427,894	293.86
1971/72	469,864	293.86
1972/73	421,767	367.32
1973/74	354,630	440.79
1974/75	381,603	550.98
1975/76	400,390	587.71
1976/77	324,111	734.64
1977/78	271,339	1,333.33
1978/79	265,074	2,666.67
1979/80	296,419	4,000.00
1980/81	257,974	4,000.00
1981/82	224,882	12,000.00
1982/83	178,626	12,000.00
1983/84	158,956	20,000.00
1984/85	174,813	30,000.00
1985/86	219,044	56,000.00
1986/87	227,764	85,000.00
1987/88	188,171	150,000.00
1988/89	300,101	165,000.00

In considering these issues, the question which comes most strongly to my mind is, why recent generations have not been interested in cocoa farming. Rather than locating the problem with the trees themselves, it may be more useful to look at the social relations and the lack of investment in the industry. It is undeniable that overworked soil leads to diminished returns. Research into these matters has however been carried out and many problems alleviated. Why we do not get new investment on new land or the use of hybrid varieties of cocoa, insecticide sprays and fertilisers to increase production output? Why do we not get new young people coming in to sustain or open up cocoa farming lands?

In the 1980s, the government received revenue through the Cocoa Marketing Board and secondly through what the economists call implicit taxation, through yield value counting (Austin, 1987). This involves keeping the producer price well below the price the government receives on the world market. It has to be appreciated that what a currency means on paper is not the same as purchasing power. In the late 1970s, in particular, the government would take one load of cocoa, sell it for dollars on the world market, and then convert that money to cedis. The cocoa farmers were given two cedis for every dollar. A purchaser would only receive one sixth of the amount of goods when buying with cedis as he would when using the supposedly equivalent amount of dollars. So in that sense there was further taxation on exports.

The government's position as mediator between the farmer and the world market allowed them, the government, to take large profits. For example, the late General Akyeampong

government only paid the farmers a few percent of what his officers were being paid by overseas buyers. In these circumstances it is not surprising, therefore, that nobody wanted to replant cocoa nor undertake the tedious work of removing weeds and so on for such little return. It became logical to try a different economic strategy.

When we consider further the question of food we have to ask what cocoa revenues are spent on?

A considerable amount of money was spent on the increasingly large number of officials employed by the Cocoa Marketing Board as well as numerous officials in Cocoa House (Austin, 1987). A situation developed whereby the Marketing Board employed as many people as were producing the products. One begins to wonder whether this is really a matter of marketing or a matter of employment? Most of the money was spent in towns which meant that most of the revenue from cocoa was being used to import food. Populations became more concentrated in urban environments. Jobs were created directly or indirectly on the basis of cocoa money and when the government received revenue (whether officially from cocoa, or from the Marketing Board, or through the implicit tax of an over valued currency), moneys received were invariably spent in the towns. For example, a new hospital, or another government department would be built. However worthwhile, it was apparent that these developments were confined to town life.

In effect, although it was true that many town dwellers practised some food farming, most of the food was of course received from outside. In comparison with cocoa, the market

for food stuffs was often much better, especially if we compare the prices paid during the presidency of Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s. In early 1960s there was a huge shift from cocoa to food in terms of attainable profits. Here, I refer to, what economists call, intersectual terms of trade price paid for cocoa, compared with the prices paid for food. Food farmers were very much favoured. In 1965, it was much easier to secure $100 for food crops than for cocoa. The relative amount of cocoa for which a farmer would receive $100 had increased. It thus became more rewarding to grow food and less rewarding to grow cocoa. Over time, the price differential became greater. There was very little new replanting of cocoa after 1964 and continued increases in the national demand for food. The Akyeampong government tried many methods to control food prices and also tried to increase supply through initiatives such as 'Operation Feed Yourself'. Food imports rose again in the 1970s. People wanted foodstuffs different to what they were used to.

In 1979, it was cheaper to obtain rice from the Northern and Volta Regions of Ghana, than importing it from Asian countries. But, because of government manipulation of the exchange rate, the import of rice was the favourable policy. The government declared that $100 worth of imported rice would be sold for 300 cedis. That is, the purchasing of $100 of rice amounts to 250 cedis, that is a profit (to the government) of 50 cedis for imported rice. In other words, the government was basically subsidising imports through trading Ghanaian products at low prices. In the long term this was not a very stable policy. The government made the

import policy more palatable by subsidising gamaline (crop spray), insecticides and, with regard to cocoa rehabilitation projects, cheap labour to make farming more attractive. This pattern was characteristic of Amansie District in the late '70s. (Gareth Austin ,ICS, Seminar 20 March 1987).

However, the farmers were not interested in rehabilitation projects other than for food crops. I was witness to this during my 1983 field work in Pranum. There was smuggling, with food crops from Ghana eventually reaching Togo. Also, Ghanaians were illegally selling abroad cocoa and reselling insecticides and other government subsidised goods, especially those for which the subsidies were greatest.

It seems that in the early 1980s there was a case proposed wherein it was considered better to concentrate on increasing the incentives for cocoa producers. In order to do so, Rawlings' government devalued the cedi which would, they argued, favour export producers. There were two main difficulties with the situation as it stood. Firstly, The Cocoa Marketing Board took a significant percentage of profits and secondly, devaluation as an economic policy can only be successful where a country does not have great import commitments. Devaluation gives exporters more cedis but only translates into real profits if this money can be spent locally.

Those who were in well paid positions, particularly university lecturers, faced difficult times due to the price of imports and the situation of the lower income group was very difficult. The cocoa farmers however were receiving a higher proportion of the real world price. Figures, since

1983, do suggest that there have been increased profits for cocoa farmers, despite the fact that the world price has been extremely poor. Over the past few years, cocoa farmers have fared better than food farmers. Commander (1989) provides evidence of renewed planting in the mid 1980s and states, that, by 1987, a lot of farmers or planters were replanting in Amansie, Adanse, Pranum and Tepa - Ahafoano districts. The situation thus seems to be improving, although the economy is still a long way from being strong. If the same policies had been implemented in the 1970s, when the world price for cocoa was very high, then the successes may well have been greater. In 1980s there was less opportunity for the government to increase the producer price of cocoa. Cocoa was therefore leaving the country very cheaply.

According to Austin (1987), the difficulties lay in production and the necessity to increase input and, thus, the industry as a whole. A main differentiation developed, as previously mentioned, between the rural producers and the government return through social development which favoured urban areas and the urban market maintained prominence, despite the fact that there was little monetary strength to trade in foreign goods.

Agriculture is undoubtedly the largest and most important sector of the Ghanaian economy (Ministry of Agriculture, 1991). It contributes the highest proportion in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). According to Nyanteng (1993: 69), in the past decade the agricultural basis of GDP averaged about 52%. However, since 1987, this proportion has been gradually declining, reaching about 49% in 1991.

Nyanteng goes on to say that the decrease was only in relation to other income, as the physical amount of exported agricultural products (EAP) has continued to increase from 2.3 million in 1980 to about 2.8 million cedis in 1991, increasing at a rate of about 1.8% per annum (FAO). It is in this light that the agricultural sector is expected to absorb part of the labour force which has been re-deployed from the other sectors under SAP (Nyanteng 1993: 69).

4 (v) SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT

Although the cedi has some worth today, it is still a far cry from the situation pre-1983. There is a long way to go before the Ghanaian currency can be said to be healthy due to the falling value of export goods over which Ghana as a Third World country has little control. This is compounded by internal failings and bad luck and also mismanagement of funds and natural disasters. Thus, the world market, and capitalism per se, should likewise stand trial if blame is to be cast.

It has been both argued and put into practice, that with sustained productive input there should be concordant economic growth from which we would expect the currency to gain strength. According to orthodox economic theory, productive growth in the long run should strengthen that countries' currency. Take for example, Britain where the value of the pound has declined in comparison with the German mark. Since the end of the World War II, German productivity has been growing faster than British productivity. Another country enjoying economic success and subsequent financial

power has been Japan, the yen being one of the strongest currencies on the world market.

According to standard economic theory, devaluation of the currency promotes favourable conditions for exporters. This does not work however when the producers have little control over the marketing of their own products. The price of cocoa is determined in dollars which means that when the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board sells Ghanaian cocoa in Amsterdam or Chicago they do not receive cedis. It is always sold in dollars. Bearing this in mind, the Ghana cocoa industry does not profit from the devaluation of their own currency. Transactions take place irrespective of the state of the cedi. For the cedi continued to be devalued and the price of cocoa comes under international price fluctuations. In 1994, the price of cocoa was raised from 19,000 cedis to 40,000 cedis. But the corresponding devaluation was inversely proportional to the increase in producer price of cocoa. A t the same time, expensive imports of goods enter into the country. The local factories production output continue to decrease. The export prices of Ghanaian raw materials continue to be cheaper at the world market. There should therefor be global structural adjustment programme, particularly, international trade to protect those countries which had implemented the programme. As I have already indicated some of the problems were far reaching and began as far back as 1900 and colonial imposition.

By 1984 cocoa production had declined to a low point of less than 200,000 tonnes. Through adopting SAP it was hoped production would be on the increase by the year 2000. I agree

that in the long term, Ghana needs to re-address its economic policies as to how to build on the present situation. The government is still trying to diversify the economy but, unfortunately, not succeeding and what is even more important is that when the volume of production is smaller, the world price is often likewise lower. This is a travesty.

Some explanation has to be given to account for the greater commitment given to cocoa crop production. Ecological conditions in Ghana are suitable for food crop production and from a market perspective produce could be sold in the Sahelian countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger etc. Arrangements could be established (by ECOWAS) whereby agricultural products could be exchanged for meat from these countries. For in the olden days (pre-1960), trade between Ghana and Burkina Faso was predominantly in cattle. There is therefore a strong historical precedent for such proposals. When discussing international trade, a distinction has to be made between food production for an internal market and food production for export. Both quality control and storage problems are greater in overseas trade. Selling products such as tomatoes, plantains, yam, cassava etc. at local markets is very straightforward. But to sell the same food stuffs overseas requires knowledge of international marketing systems. To take just one effect, prices for crops are frozen due to the buying power of the supermarkets. They will not put anything on the shelves which is not rightly priced. This situation of quantity pricing suits agro-business.

PART TWO

CHAPTER FIVE

PRANUM HISTORY, ECONOMY, ECOLOGY AND RESEARCH FOCUS

Pranum District has an interesting political and economic history with regard to the evolution of the Asante kingdom and the lineage displacement and disruption involved therein. The intervention of colonial rule and its effect on the lineages through the imposition of capitalist mono crop cocoa economy has also had a direct bearing on the present economic crisis in Pranum. In the subsequent chapters I will demonstrate how only through principles of matriliny can the Asante people recover.

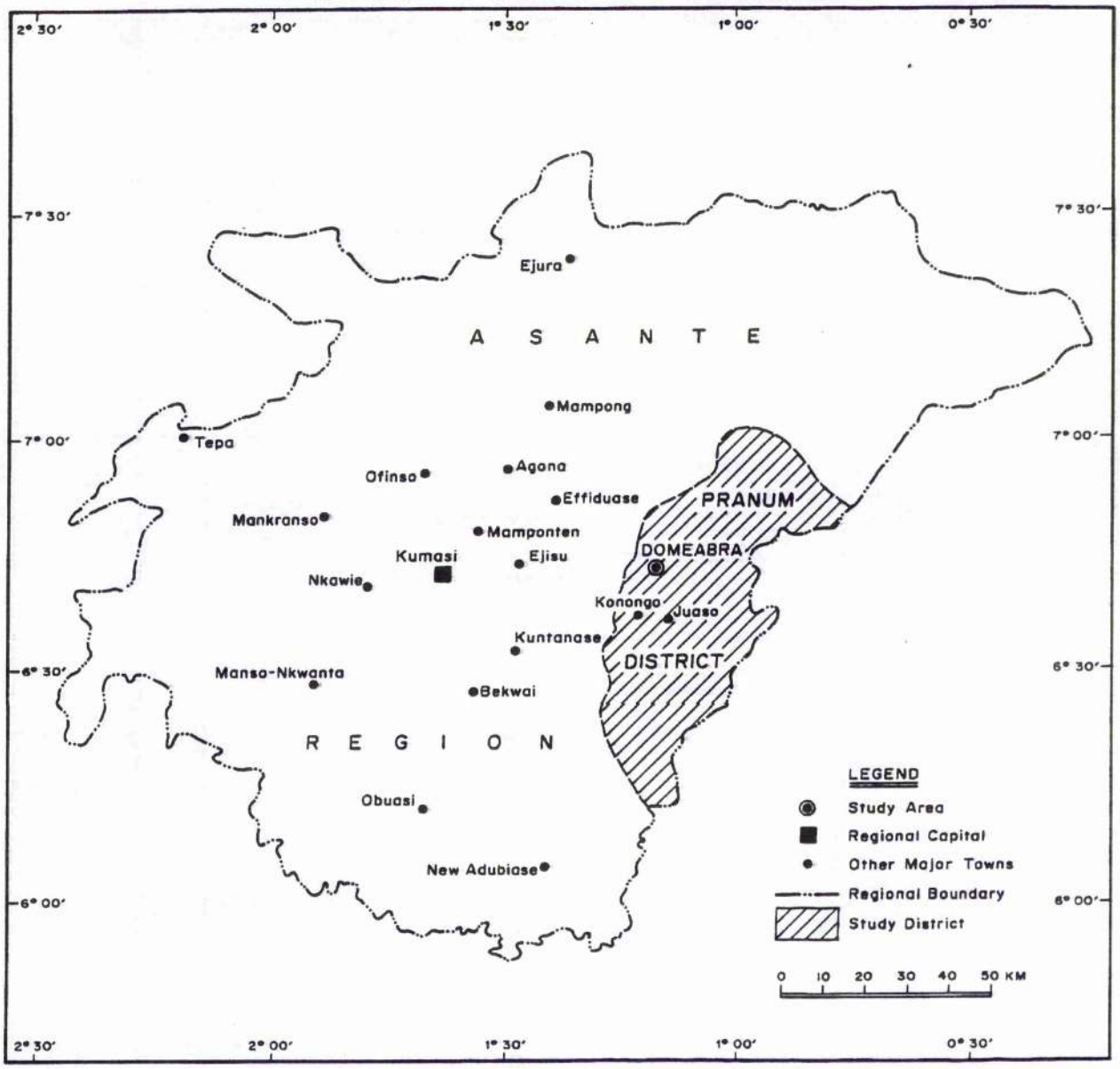
5 (i) THE PRANUM HISTORY

The word Pranum is derived from the names for the basins of the two rivers, Pra and Anum (see Maps 4,5). It replaces the former name Asante-Akyem.

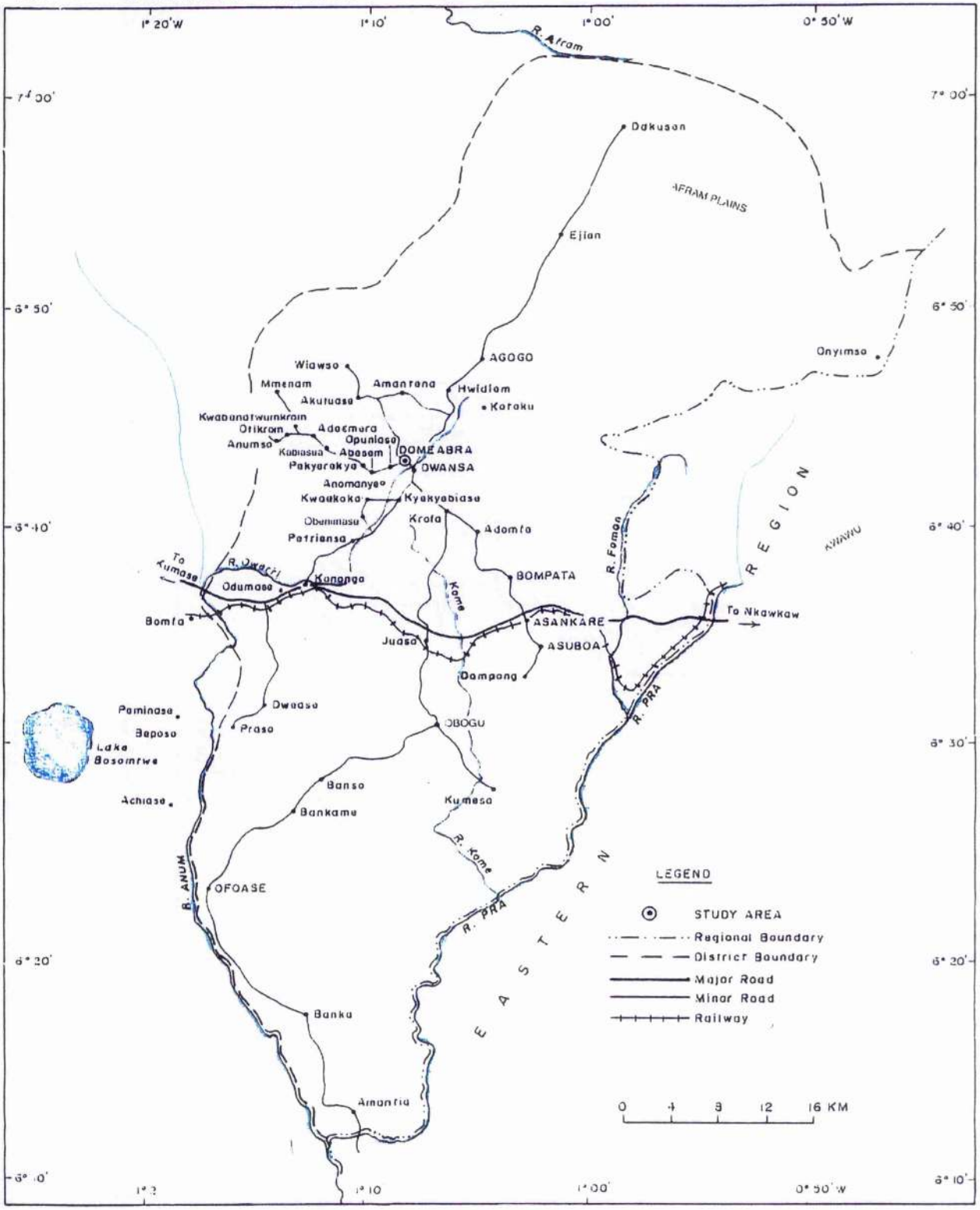
The period from 1700 to 1900 can be characterised in terms of war and military expeditions. Meillassoux (1991), discussing West Africa in general, comments on this situation, placing it in the context of regional and international slavery. During these years it would not be an understatement to say that Asante strength was based on military might: "In the Asante army, according to Bowditch (1819: 298), a merciless discipline was exercised by the staff on the battle-field. The army leaders, with their elite troops, followed closely on the recruited fighters, 'forcing them, sword in hand, to march and immolating all those who tried to flee' (Bowdich 1819: 298). The elites of the Asante army were made up of soldier slaves, captured as children and

MAP 4

MAP OF ASANTE REGION SHOWING PRANUM DISTRICT AND THE STUDY AREA — DOMEABRA



MAP 5 PRANUM DISTRICT SHOWING THE STUDY AREA: DOMEABRA



trained for the work" (Reindorf 1895: 132); (quoted by Meillassoux, 1991: 166).

Pranum was incorporated into Asante kingdom in around 1750. Occupying the south eastern portion of the Asante Region of modern Ghana, it was formerly, and sometimes still is, referred to as Asante-Akyem, referring to the former population of the area (Akyems), Akan people who have since migrated to the present Eastern Region of Ghana. In the early history of the Asante empire, the area served as a buffer state between what may be called metropolitan Asante and her southern Akan neighbouring chiefdoms of Akyem Abuakwa, Kwawu, Akyem Kotoku and Akyem Bosome.

It appears that the control of this part of Asante changed hands very often. The result was that people from the Akan states visiting this area referred to it as Asante, while people from the metropolitan Asante considered it as a part of Akyem, reflecting its towns and villages former control by Akyem Chiefs; for example, in Owerriman area (principal area of field work) the controlling power came under the authority of Akyem Kotokuhene. Present-day Pranum has its southern limit at the River Pra on the Accra-Kumase road which stretches about 28 miles north-east. On the western boundary it stretches to Lake Bosomtwe, and this boundary is continued by the River Anum which acts as a natural boundary between Pranum and Sekyere, Pranum's neighbouring district to the west. On the north-east, the Afram Plains straddle the border of Pranum and the Eastern Region, taking in, on the Pranum side Agogo stool land.

5 (ii) PRANUM HISTORY

According to oral history, which I collected, before 1680 the aboriginal Guans inhabited the Afram plains, whilst the Akyems occupied the remainder of the Pranum area. Then Aduana clan migrants[1] arrived on the Afram plains from both east and west (reflecting different lineage homelands) forcing the Guans to cross the river Volta to what is now the present Volta Region.

In the rest of Pranum, Akyem from Beretuo clan founded in about 1670, Ofoase-Apaaso Chiefdom in South Pranum. As a result of persistent war with the newly emerging Asante Kingdom, a female royal of Ofoase, by name Amma Asiedua, was given in marriage to Kotokuhene, Frimpong Manso, a neighbouring Akyem Chief, thus consolidating Akyem power. Frimpong Manso founded his new chiefdom in Owerriman Area in North Pranum. Frimpong Manso and Amma Asiedua gave birth to Princess Nimakoa in about 1710. Twenty years later Amma Asiedua and her descendants founded the town Domeabra now the capital of Owerriman (see Chapter 6). But around 1740, following the wars the bulk of the Akyem left the area, for what is now Eastern Region, leaving in Pranum clan remnants who along with various immigrants, now found themselves under Asante control.

Domeabra's more recent notable development occurred in the late 1920s, when a series of villages were founded on lands surrounding Domeabra which had been colonised by cocoa. These were Abesem, Anomanyei, Kwarkoko and Pekyerekye. In 1940s, another group of villages were established on Domeabra boundary lands called Mponoa. The Mponoa villages are

Kabiasua, Adeemera, Otikrom (Pankrono), Kwabenatwumkrom and Mmenam. The majority of citizens of Mponoa came as farmers in search of new cocoa farm lands. They migrated from the Beretuo homeland stool towns of Mampon, Efidwase, Apaa, Gyamase, to the west of Pranum.

These new villagers secured access to land by virtue of matrilineal association. Like the existing Domeabra population, they are identified with Beretuo chiefdom and are therefore considered to be of brother stools land. Their primary citizenship in Domeabra was secured through undertaking the necessary ritual in respect of Beretuo ancestors as a token of thanks (aseda). Through being accepted in this way they became entitled to usufruct rights of Domeabra stool lands.

After 1900, having been defeated by the British, the context of Pranum administration changed markedly. Fluctuating relations between chiefdoms and local population, that had formerly been articulated through warfare and slavery, now, with indirect rule, were governed by the market economy and the collection of taxes. Meillassoux (1991) locates the fundamental changes as having begun much earlier, with the end of the slave trade.

"The transformations of modern colonial-type slavery are different, because they are affected by the economic context of world capitalism in which they have taken place. The establishment of a wage earning labour force in competition with slavery took place entirely through the workings of the market (Meillassoux 1991:320).

Writing from a Marxist perspective, Meillassoux makes the obvious but very real association between slaves (in their varying categories and positions within the state apparatus) and workers. "It was with the use of slaves for the cultivation of cash crops that the way was opened for wage-labour" (ibid.).

After 1902, the Akyem Kotoku Chief (Kotokuhene), Attah Effa, now residing in Eastern Region, sent a representative to collect taxes from Owerriman Chiefs. He claimed that, historically, they were the subjects of his predecessor Frimpong Manso. The Owerriman Chiefs, Nana Domeabrahene Baafour Kofi Duh Ampem II and Adomfehene Nana Kwame Kra, on behalf of Pranum people, presented a petition to the colonial government in Accra to resist this. In order to solve the problem, the colonial government ordered that the Kotoku Chief did not have legitimate claim to the former lands in Pranum.

The colonial government, in their wisdom, decided to create the Traditional Council for Pranum. The Amantena Stool was elevated to paramountcy, because, Bompata, its capital, had become a centre of missionary activity and education. All the Chiefs of Pranum North were placed under it. The Obogu-Bankame Stool was elevated to paramountcy to cater for Pranum South. Certain towns and villages on Pranum western border, like Konongo, Odumase, Juaso and Nyaboe were placed under Juaben Stool, which is based outside Pranum District. In 1933, during the revolt against him, Nana Yaw Kwabiah Asimpa resigned as Omanhene (Paramount Chief) of Amantena-Bompata Stool. In 1935, when the Golden Stool was given the rightful

position and the Asantehene reinstated as King of Asante kingdom but not as Chief of Kumase[2], the subsequent effect was that the Amantena-Bompata and Obogu-Bankame Stools were demoted from paramountcy and reverted to their former position. As elevation of these Stools were than by CPP government. This was interference with the authority of the King of Asante (i.e. as non-paramounts) (source: Kwabiah, 1974).

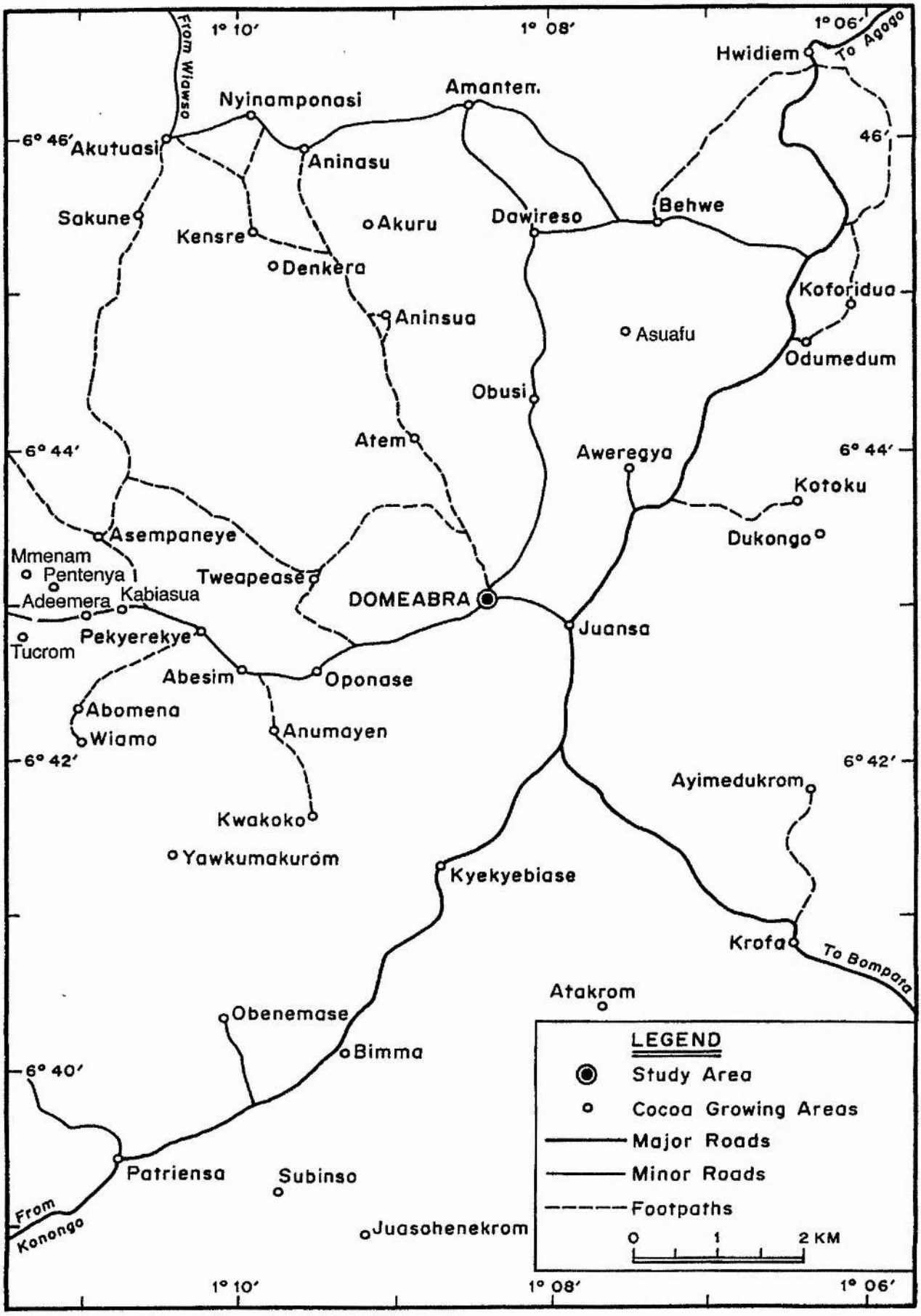
After 1960, when Ghana became a republic, Obogu, Bompata, Domeabra and Agogo Stools in Pranum were elevated to paramountcy. However, after the 1966 coup, these Chiefs once again lost power and resumed their former status as senior Chiefs. In the 1970s, the Asantehene, Otumfoo Opoku Ware II, advocated a policy of decentralisation and, in doing so, re-elevated most senior Chiefs in Asante and Brong-Ahafo to Paramount status. Thus, in Pranum, between 1981 and 1996, the following Stools were elevated: Obogu; Agogo; Ofoase; Asankare; Bompata; Domeabra; Asuboa; and Dwansa. (Source: Kwabiah, 1974).

5 (iii) GEOGRAPHY OF PRANUM

Pranum is bounded on the eastern side by the Pra River, northwards up to Kwahu Praso and continues across the sand stone-scarp at Jutebi and the Afram Plains to River Afram. On the West and South, it is bounded by the River Anum which is a tributary to the River Pra (see Maps: 5, 6, 7).

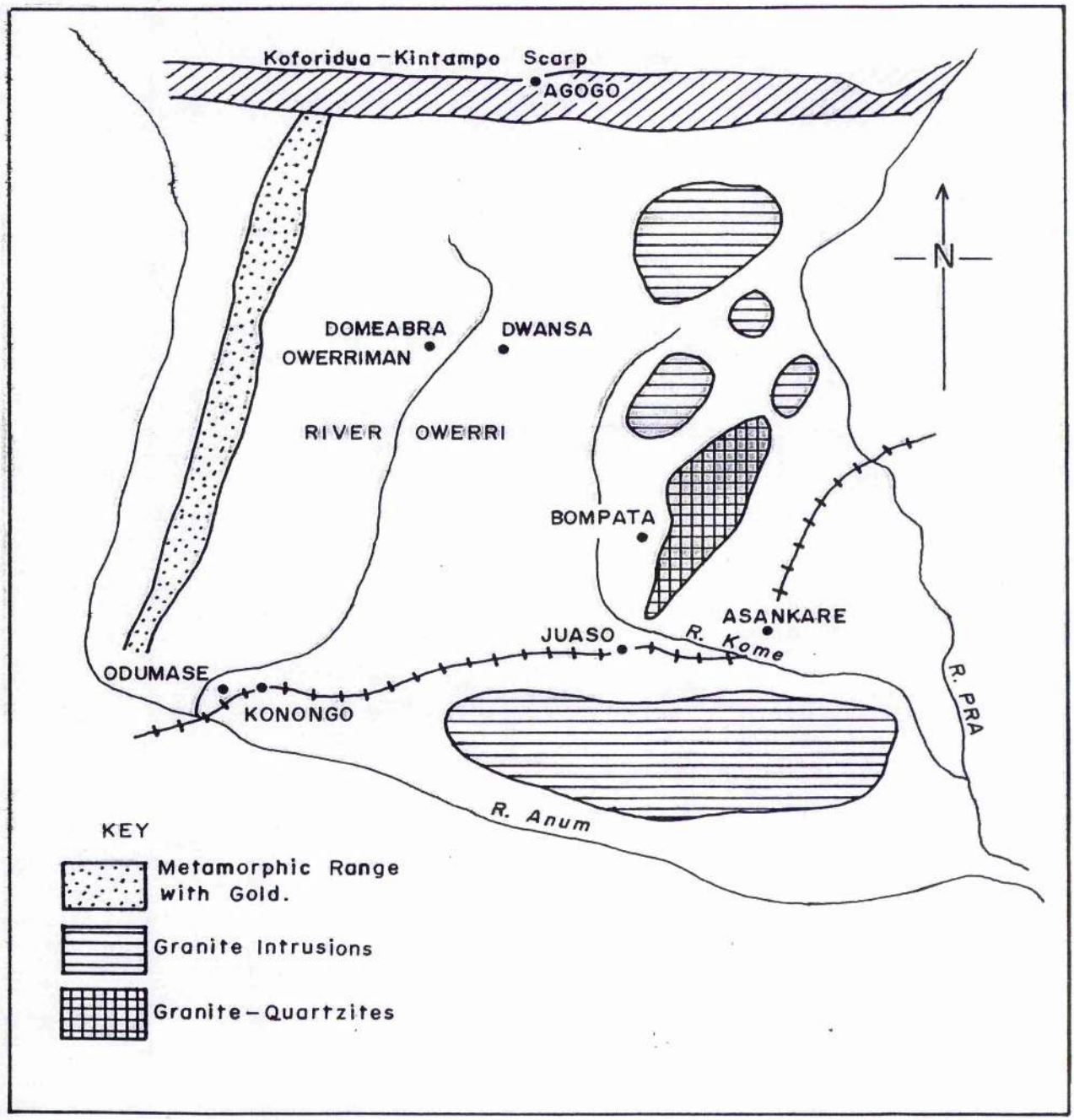
The area has part of the mountain range which starts from Dixcove rising up as a ridge west of Odumase and Konongo, continuing north eastwards as a range through

MAP 6 MAP SHOWING DOMEABRA AND THE COCOA GROWING AREAS IN CENTRAL PRANUM DISTRICT (EASTERN ASANTE)



MAP 7

SKETCH MAP: PRANUM PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY



Obenimase and Domeabra and finally dipping under the Koforidua-Kintampo Scarp at Amantena. This range contains metamorphic rocks, mainly quartz and phyllite, and also gold which has been mined at Konongo and Obenimase until quite recently.

The northern sectors of Pranum form part of a sand stone scarp. To the east up to the sand stone plateau, there are ridges of mainly grano-quartzite with intrusions of dotal granitic hills such as Kitibo near Obogu, Prem near Juaso, Apango near Konongo, Brinsim near Kyekyebiase and Mfransa near Hwidiem. Other dotal forms are found on the Adomfe and Kurofa stool lands (see Map 5 & 7).

As well as the Afram plains in the north east, there are plains along the Rivers Anum and Pra to the south of the District. Towards these plains, there are granite outcrops, as seen along the road from Obogu to Ofoase. All the rivers in the district drain into the Anum and Pra. The Owerri and its tributaries drain into Anum and the river Kume, the latter's tributaries subsequently joining with the river Pra.

The soils are mainly forest ochrosols which are generally good for cocoa. Apart from the forest reserves along the River Pra and the Foman stream, the area is mainly of secondary forest or fallow land. Since 1960 part of the forest reserve has been cleared and reforested with exotic plants like cassia (Source: Kwabiah 1974).

5 (iv) POPULATION AND TOWNS

In 1992, Pranum was divided into two new Districts, Pranum North and South, the total population numbering 140,000, and

the main towns with populations of 5,000 or more being Agogo, Konongo, Odumase, Patriensa, Obogu, Juaso, Domeabra, Dwansa and Bompata. The remaining human settlements are all towns and villages with 5000 or less people. With about 2% annual increase in population since 1960, villages are expanding and new ones are springing up with rapidity (Special Report on localities, population census of Ghana 1984, Ghana statistical service).

The Owerriman area has a very good road network. The main Accra-Kumase trunk road cuts through the area (27 miles) from the River Anum to the River Pra at Nnadieso. The rest of the roads are second class, for example from Konongo to Agogo (18 miles), with third class and feeder roads from Asankare through Dwansa and Domeabra to the River Anum or the border of Sekyere East District. There is another road from Konongo through Juaso and Apragya to Amantia, the boundary with Eastern Region of Ghana. Cars, vans, articulated and other trucks use all these roads. There is also a railway line from Accra to Kumase which passes through the District from Praso to Bomfa. The rail transport has expanded little since it was first built in about 1910. It is slow, compared to road transport which also has the advantage of door to door delivery. However, traders dealing in foodstuffs, Akpeteshie (local gin) and other bulky commodities usually use the railway.

5 (v) ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

In recent decades, West Africa has been drawn into the global economy in terms of agricultural production (Hart 1982: 42).

In Ghana, through the relationship with the international economy and increasingly the cocoa mono crop economy, a situation very noticeable in Pranum, there have been adverse effects in all the rural areas. Today most people in Pranum District are mainly food crop farmers. Pre-1965 there were a lot of cocoa farms, but swollen shoot disease and old age destroyed the majority of trees. Rehabilitation has not been very successful, with any cocoa production now being concentrated mainly in the north eastern (Afram Plains) and south of Obogu, farming areas newly opened up by migrant farmers from Akuapem and Shai Districts (Eastern Region) who were given land by the local Chiefs in the mid-1960s. Most of the indigenous farmers, forced to diversify their economic interest, are now very interested in the production of plantain, cocoyam, maize, okra, and aubergines, which are cultivated as cash crops (plantain and cocoyam are biennials). Since 1980 a number of the farmers on the sandstone scarp and the Afram plains have taken to intensive yam, tomato and swamp rice production.

Economic insecurity is a prevalent situation for many Pranum people and an issue that must be explored in greater depth. According to Hart, a transition from self-subsistence to a cash economy is always relative, especially where the crop concerned is a food crop (Hart 1982: 9). Moreover, in Domeabra-Owerriman, people may aspire to be sufficient in both food and cash, but they may not succeed, for example, because of adverse weather. I shall describe the numerous economic activities that constitute the rural farmers primary means of livelihood.

Domeabra-Owerriman traditional area is no exception in having been drawn into international, regional and national markets. Domeabra-Owerriman people travel to other areas, particularly Kumase and Accra-Tema, to work and trade. They are therefore prone to the affects of any disruption in the Ghanaian economy which, as noted earlier, is suffering from the effects of structural adjustment, foreign debt repayments, high interest rates, currency devaluations, and international price fluctuations for cocoa, the main export commodity (Abbey 1990; Togoe 1990). Therefore, both external and internal economic factors affect members of the community which affects their quality of life.

Economic activities in Domeabra-Owerriman are again very often highly diversified. Farming itself is only small scale and usually involves the farmer travelling long distances to his fields. Families survive on returns from this, and other, small scale economic activities such as hunting, palm wine making and distillation into local gin, processing of palm oil and fishing. Single women, who are not much involved in cash crop farming, must find supplementary means of earning. By and large, Domeabra is an agriculturally based community and many economic activities are in some way related to agricultural production.

5 (vi) LOCAL FOOD CROP FARMING

In Pranum the majority of people farm food crops. Each lineage has usufruct rights over its own plot of land which has been handed down primarily through matrilineal inheritance. Some farmland, however, has been gifted from

husbands to wives and children. Nuclear family farms vary in size from about a 0.204 hectares to 0.612 hectares, depending on the number of family members who were physically capable of using the land.

TABLE 2: ANNUAL FARMING ACTIVITIES

MONTHS	SEASON	ACTIVITY	CROPS	MATURITY IN MONTHS
January	harmattan	harvesting	cocoyam yam etc.	
February	harmattan	slash or burn planting	plantain maize cassava	12 6 6
March	harmattan	Completed planting, hunting grasscutter, rats squirrels	cocoyam, yams, pepper, tomatoes, okra, garden eggs, onion	6-12
April		weeding		
May	big rains	weeding		
June	big rains	weeding		
July	big rains end	weeding harvesting	maize	
August		weeding harvesting	cassava maize, cocoyam	
September	small rains	weeding		
October	small rains	planting	2nd maize crop and other vegetable	
November	harmattan begins	harvesting	plantain, okra, tomatoes etc.	
December	(hot dry windy)	harvesting	cocoa dried and sold	

The land is cleared and planted in the months of January, February and March, during the hot, dry, windy season known as harmattan. The vegetation is cut and burnt before new crops are planted. As crops are interplanted in a rather haphazard fashion, an estimate of yields for any, one crop is difficult. The primary crops grown are plantain, cocoyam, maize, cassava and yams. Some farmers cultivate oil palm trees and cocoa trees in separate farms. Fruits trees were also planted at the time when the farm was first established, along with kola nuts, oranges, limes, bananas, coconuts, mangoes and papayas. Farmers who returned to the areas in the 1980s are making separate small scale plantation for cash crop farming.

Between April and June, weeding is the main activity; a plot must be cleared every three weeks if the farmer is to keep ahead of the weeds that threaten to choke out the crops. May, June and July mark the big rainy season in the area. During July and August, the first maize crop is harvested. August, September and October is when the cocoyam matures and harvested. This is also the period of the small rainy season and when a second crop of maize and other vegetables are planted.

Each particular farming area, typically owned by a sub-lineage, tends to favour a certain type of crop, after which the area is named. The sublineage areas do not appear to be clearly demarcated from one another, but tall trees, stones, ridges, and particular plants make the boundary clear enough for the farmers themselves. Even the youngest child knows

where one cultivated plot ends and another begins. In Domeabra, the land surrounding the town is owned and farmed by the Beretuo lineage. Domeabra Beretuo oral history suggests that the Beretuo line originally had more males which helped the lineage founding ancestors to exploit more land.

There is minimal arbitration on land disputes by lineage heads and, if there is much rift, it is adjudicated by a wing-chief or the Paramount Chief. Through cross-cousin marriage some patri-descendants make claims to the farming lands of their father. But such claims are often disputed by matrilineal groups. At times when a farm is left fallow, an intruder may clear and burn the bush, claiming that he is a kinsman of the lineage head. The intruder may, or may not be granted the right to farm for the year. Cases of trespassing are usually settled through lineage heads. Where land becomes subdivided there is often trespassing which often leads to family disputes which sometimes take a long time to be settled.

In 1993, there was much rainfall, so the yield was good. But uneven rainfall in 1994 caused food shortages in June, July, August as the crops did not receive the required rains. In 1995 people stepped up farming as there were good rains in March and April. One problem for the farmers at this time was that they could not do food crop farming in distant fields, because the crops in such fields are vulnerable to theft from youngsters who do not farm. Meanwhile, the land close to towns and villages, because it is left for short fallow, produces insufficient yields.

As a result of the SAP-inspired withdrawal of subsidies to agricultural input, few cash crop farmers were, at the time of the field study, cultivating new hybrids such as maize and cowpeas, as well as rice. Most of the rice and maize farmers engaged young women to harvest, on a sharecropping basis. A few women were themselves engaged in vegetables farming such as pepper, tomatoes, okra etc.

In Domeabra-Owerriman Area cocoa remains the main cash crop. But there is a decline in cocoa production and people often find other ways of earning money in order to purchase needed items (like spices, meat, fish, medicine, clothing) and to pay several important bills such as funerals, school fees and transportation costs. They diversify the economic activities of all the sexes irrespective of age to earn extra incomes to supplement their living. Included in such diversification is the sale of food crops in the market place; although this is done on a small-scale this only squeezes further the availability of food for subsistence (see Chapter 7). The devalued cedi (see Chapter Four) exacerbates the people's difficulties in this regard. By 1994, the value of the cedi was 1,500 cedis to one pound; moreover this fluctuates rapidly every three months. This contributes to the daily erosion of the Ghanaian people purchasing power. In 1997, the value of the cedi is 3,000 cedis to one pound. Mining, lumbering and trading are, in this context, important supplementary sources of local income for people in Pranum.

Underground mining of gold started in 1927 at Konongo-Odumase, Patriensa, Tokwai and Obenimase. Most of these mines

stopped operations after 1950 with the exception of Konongo Mines which operated until 1974. Recently, the Southern Cross Mining Company carried out surface mining at Konongo-Odumase, Kwarkoko-Domeabra and Obeninmase. These projects have been closed down. At present there is only small-scale surface mining, conducted by both individuals and small private companies, near the towns of Konongo and Odumase. Up to one hundred people may be involved in this at any one time, but the number fluctuates considerably.

Cutting and exporting of timber logs as well as logging by chain saw operators are much carried out in Pranum. There is extensive illegal logging in overexploited areas where large companies are not operating. The large companies with bush and main line trucks carry logs to the port and to the saw mills in Kumase, Nkawkaw and Accra. These companies pay royalties and taxes to the District Assemblies and the Lands Department. The illicit chain-saw operators infiltrate concessions and areas not under production. Before the 1960s, such areas were under extensive logging by such operators. Even today they cause a lot of destruction to food crops, pay no tax to the local government or compensation to the affected farmers, nor do they negotiate with the local Chiefs to contribute towards cost of local projects. Despite the District Assemblies' efforts to institute court action against these illegal operators, they connive with some local individuals to do logging in a very dubious way. For example, within Domeabra-Owerriman area around twenty people survive in this way.

Trading in Pranum is limited to periodic markets held once or twice a week in towns like Obogu, Adomfe, Domeabra and Dampong. However, a daily market is prominent in the urban areas of Konongo-Odumase and Agogo. Wayside markets are prevalent along the Accra-Kumase trunk road at Odumase, Juaso, Atwidie and Adanse. These are limited to foodstuffs like plantain and cocoyam and fruits such as bananas, pineapples, pears and palm fruit. The traders are basically of two kinds. First there are food crop farmers selling their own food products. Second there are those, particular young women, who devote themselves entirely to trading, buying food crops from local farmers and bringing into the area from the outside a range of commodities for local sale.

5 (vii) INTRODUCTION OF COCOA INTO PRANUM

Pranum District was a well known cocoa growing area in Ghana from 1950 to 1975. Cocoa seedlings are initially intercropped with food crops, but after two years or so this ceases and the entire field becomes a cocoa plantation. Thus, as a result of increased intensification of cocoa production in the Ghana cocoa regions in general, through this period all fertile lands in the district were taken over for cocoa production, leading to certain distant, virgin areas being reserved, on the authority of the Asanteman Council, for food production. All such land falls under the authority of a local Chief, and through matrilineal connection to him individuals enjoy usufruct rights to farm these areas

According to Kwabi-Ameyaw (1974), the figures show that in Pranum 1962/63 there was a heavy concentration of cocoa

production in numerous settlements, especially in a core area (a triangular area apexed on Agogo in the north, Dampong in the east and the Lake Bosomtwe area in the west). In contrast, there was an area of relatively low production in the southern section of the Juaso District which had only recently been opened up to cultivation. But by 1971/72, according to the figures, most of the cocoa in Pranum was coming from new cocoa lands in the north-east (Afram plains) and the south-east sectors of the cocoa-growing zone outside the core producing area. The agricultural colonisation of these areas dates back to the early 1950s.

Thus in the north, migrant local farmers from Agogo on the Mampon-Kwahu plateau pushed into the marginal Afram plain lands. According to Kwabi-Ameyaw, in 1948, there had been five settlements with a total population of less than 300 in the Afram plains. At present, the population is about 7000 with 21 of the communities having 60 or more people. This spontaneous and dynamic colonisation effected through migration, led to the settlement and growth of the hitherto empty Afram plains. Since the 1963/64 cocoa season, the Afram Plains cocoa has contributed over a quarter of the total zonal output of cocoa produced in the Agogo District of North Pranum. In 1971/72, the Afram Plains, notwithstanding inadequate water and especially transportation, comprised the largest proportion of the 75 cocoa producing settlements in Pranum District, and food crop production features significantly in the area as well.

In South Pranum, in the Bankame area of the Juaso District, the cocoa farmers are both migrant, and also local

Pranum people, as well as other "stranger" elements mainly Adangbes from the Eastern Region of Ghana. Here, there is adequate water but there is a lack of transportation.

There was also an interesting existing political situation in this area due to a particular land tenure arrangement which the "strangers" attempted to reject. The strangers were under the impression that they enjoyed full ownership rights over the lands they farmed, but local Chiefs maintained that their rights were usufruct only. Through the intervention of the Asantehene, an agreement was reached by the King whereby 'outsider' interest in the area was recognised as based only on permanent usufructuary rights in their developed lands.

In the Owerriman area of Pranum, about 90% of the lands were taken over for cocoa production. However since the 1970s the cocoa trees have aged and it has become one of the lowest producing areas in the Pranum District. Now most of the land is taken over by immature cocoa trees (following the government's rehabilitation scheme) and food crops. Like the Bankame area to the south, Owerriman lands are very fertile and well-drained being serviced by a multitude of streams and tributaries.

Table 3: Pranum Cocoa Production, from 1968/69 - 1990/91).

YEAR	TOWN	TONNAGE	TOTALS
1968/69	Agogo	1,015	
	Juaso	2,000	
	Konongo	735	3,750
1974/75	Konongo	11,556	11,556
1975/76	Konongo	10,421	10,421
1977/78	Konongo	9,739	9,739
1978/79	Agogo	1,522	
	Juaso	3	
	Konongo	,313	7,221
		2	
		,386	
1979/80	Konongo	11,741	11,741
1980/81	Konongo	8,978	8,978
1981/82	Konongo	1,678	
	Juaso	2,008	
	Agogo	1,486	
	Asankare	852	6,024
1982/83	Konongo	1,358	
	Juaso	1,460	
	Agogo	922	
	Asankare	717	4,457
1983/84			
1984/85	Konongo	1,142	
	Juaso	1,729	
	Agogo	484	
	Asankare	462	4,817
1985/86	Konongo	1,247	
	Juaso	1,577	
	Agogo	646	
	Asankare	458	3,928
1986/87	Konongo	1,234	
	Juaso	2,116	
	Agogo	739	
	Asankare	-	4,089

1987/88	Konongo	1,269	
	Juaso	2,096	
	Agogo	782	
	Asankare	-	4,147
1988/89	Konongo	1,822	
	Juaso	2,996	
	Agogo	908	
	Asankare	-	5,726
1989/90	Konongo	1,855	
	Juaso	2,970	
	Agogo	765	
	Asankare	-	5,590
1990/91	Konongo	1,727	
	Juaso	2,964	
	Agogo	803	
	Asankare	-	5,494

5 (viii) THE DECLINE IN GHANA COCOA PRODUCTION IN PRANUM

At the time of Ghana's maximum cocoa production (1964/65), the country recorded a bumper harvest of 580,889 tons (see GCMB Bulletin 1966 Table 15). However, production declined in the 1980s to as low as 173,000 tons (see Table one, p.171 Chapter 4).

At Domeabra, the production of cocoa reached its highest peak in the 1960s. Some farmers produced well over 2000 loads at 20 kilos per load. The average production for women and small-scale farmers was 100 loads (Kwabiah, 1988). Among this latter category of producers were a handful who had an annual production of 50 loads. By 1982, however, whole tracts of land, which were once occupied by cocoa farms, had turned into secondary forest with a few spots of scattered cocoa

trees, most of which had been abandoned because they had become too old for any meaningful production. The causes of this were the ageing of cocoa trees, disease, a lack of interest on the part of young people in rehabilitation (replanting), the ecological effect of over-cutting of timber, a lack of farm labour, and poor producer prices which act as disincentive for the new farmers (see Table Two).

In 1982/83 cocoa season, there was one farmer who, having rehabilitated (replanted) his cocoa farm, had an annual production of 60 loads. He was adjudged the highest producer. But this was the level of production of lower producers during the peak period in the cocoa production history of Pranum District. The first rehabilitated cocoa crops were expected to be harvested in 1982/83 season.

The bush fires affected various cocoa growing areas in Ghana but Pranum District, where cocoa farming was the major source of income where there had been cocoa rehabilitation since the early 1970s, was much more affected than any other area in Ghana. As mentioned in previous chapters, there was a long drought in 1982/83, which led in February to March 1983 to bush fires which destroyed food crops, cocoa farms and other cash crops. At the same time there was the problem of urban migrants and returnees from Nigeria who wanted to re-enter farming, invoking matrilineal connections with local areas. These migrants I term new farmers. They wanted to engage in farming, but in different directions from existing farmers, for example some wanted to enter large scale food farming for market sale. The lineage-head owners of these farms however wanted to continue with cocoa farming, drawing

on assistance from the government's rehabilitation project[3]. But those in cocoa farming were mostly older men, who could not afford hired labour and whose family labour was restricted in availability. Therefore, such rehabilitation was not fully realised, and lineage heads were obliged to release matrilineal land to the new cash crop farmer relatives. This, coupled with the natural catastrophes, had radical consequences. The overused secondary forest was burnt, turning it into an empty, savannah plain since the coming of the rains had not been able to maintain its former rich ecosystem. This resulted in an annihilation of all reserved trees particularly those along rivers and streams making the river water more exposed and thus vulnerable to evaporation. The resultant effect was the intermittent drying up of streams and rivers and the consequent annihilation of any fish. The effect on the ecosystem not only deprived the farmers of many natural resources but also made farming much more unreliable as a result of low productivity. The danger was compounded by the fact that Ghana is a country where there are no simple irrigation system and less attention, if any, is giving to afforestation.

The bush fires, by destroying the permanent cocoa plantations, caused thorough going changes on matrilineal lands. Much of the lands were now effectively fallow, and accordingly any member of the matri-lineage had the right to claim it for use.

Prior to the bush fires, cocoa production constituted a quite solid financial security. Re-initiating cocoa production after the devastating effects of the bush fire

would, however take 5-7 years before any benefits were reaped. The older farmers, should they opt for food crop cash farming, would not be able to compete with the new farmers in terms of labour availability or mobilisation of family labour; neither could they find alternative ways of earning income from, say, selling their labour either locally or through migrant labour elsewhere and, thus, would be unable to accumulate capital to re-invest in farming.

The government had initiated an intensive campaign to raise the producer price of cocoa and provide government-paid labour for the rehabilitation of the cocoa farms. But new farmers had occupied matrilineal lands without reference to the respective lineage heads, thus frustrating the governments intention. These farmers uphold their right by appealing, over the heads of the lineage heads, to the clan Chiefs. The compromise taken was to allow the new aspiring farmers to be given portions of the family lands which had become vacant as a result of the bush fires.

The old farmers facing these dilemmas released part of the family lands, despite government pressure for the rehabilitation programme, and rejected the choice of the so called 'real' cash crop (food crop farming for sale on the market). In doing so they maintained their interest in the cocoa farm rehabilitation, despite the apparent downside of such an enterprise. This is the state of affairs which prevails today.

A relative issue is that the land now under cultivation for food crops is, relative to the 1960s, not so fertile. Through the peak cocoa farming period, fallowing had been

neglected, and even today soil quality has not fully recovered. Without any improved farming techniques, such as even simple irrigation schemes or the use of hybrids, farmers experience very low productivity. Most of these people, as a result of uncontrolled or low productivity, are forced to migrate elsewhere to find the means of a viable livelihood. The average young Asante is not prepared to take farm work. Asante cocoa farmers depended so much on migrant cocoa farm labourers whilst farmers children leave their parents to take paid jobs in the cities. The Asante outside their natal homes will like to work to earn wage income. This is a great cultural problem. I will discuss in detail the migratory strategies of young people in Pranum District in Chapter 8.

Nowadays, since the lands are relatively exhausted and more trees are burnt, each time the land is prepared for farming the natural vegetation is changing gradually as more species are being destroyed. The Report of The 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development notes the more profound damage occurring:

"the diversity of species is necessary for the normal functioning of ecosystems and the biosphere as a whole. The genetic material in wild species has a proved historical work of billions of dollars, new drugs and medicines are found, and raw materials for industry". (The 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development: The Brundtland Commission, 1987: 12).

The bush fires in Ghana had already destroyed and eradicated both the most common and important wild life animals in a country where game reserves are very limited (there are no

games reserves in Asante Region). Both trees of direct economic value and an extensive variety of well-known medical plants and edible wild fruits were also destroyed.

In Pranum District, only a small number of cocoa farmers, who pursued replanting after the bush fires, benefited. The period from 1980-1985 brought great socio-economic changes in Ghana. By 1985 the disabling effects of the Structural Adjustment Programme were generally felt by many rural farmers. There was a pull towards urban centres where any wealth was now concentrated. Many farmers left their aged parents and children and entered into urban trading and international migration for their economic survival.

Between (the period 1982-1983) and (my 1993/94 field work) changes have been significant. More young men and women have left their marital rural homes for urban centres to look for any economic opportunity, a hazard in cities such as Accra and Tema. Pre-1983, new farmers were competing for shares in the family farm estate in the rural areas. By 1993/94, it was noticeable that large stretches of family farm estates had been abandoned to Chlomehala Odolata (akyeampong a local uncontrollable weed) vegetation. Only a few young men and elderly people were actually engaged in food crop farming, whilst many spent much of their time playing the lottery. "Asante believe that to be employed as an unskilled labourer means enslavement". Is one of the reasons to the failure of cocoa resuscitation schemes. Why should others work as kayakaya men and not Asante? Yet Asante will labour abroad under all conditions of enslavement and

immigration threat. This attitude to farm has been a great drag to food farming. As has been mentioned, the increasing prevalence of theft has inhibiting people from engaging in food production, on distant fields, so that many farmers abandoned such farm lands to pay greater attention to backyard gardens.

5 (ix) THE LOCAL EFFECT OF GHANA GOVERNMENT AND WORLD BANK STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICY.

Integral to the Structural Adjustment Programme is the Programme to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD), designed to relieve, at the local level, the worst effects of Structural Adjustment. For example, funding is available for retraining those whom the policy has made unemployed and who have returned to the rural areas. But in Domeabra-Owerriman, this programme is only known about by a few teachers and they could certainly see no effect from it in Pranum District. However, there have been certain infrastructural developments. There has been piped water, as well as attempts to rehabilitate the main road in the area, but overall there has been little improvement in the lives of people in Domeabra-Owerriman. Due to poverty rural farmers can no longer afford to build houses without the support of migrant kinsmen.

The withdrawal of subsidies for agricultural inputs has not made the government's agricultural innovations in food crops production and cocoa achieve the aims of high productivity. Neither has any simple irrigation scheme nor food storage system (silos) been established to protect the

farmer. Farmers' productivity remains the same and still depends upon natural rainfall. There is little security in such ventures. There is also the high cost of agricultural tools, like machetes, which, before 1989, were less than 1000 cedis and now cost 2,500 cedis. The withdrawal of subsidies has increased prices of petrol, kerosene, clothing, school fees and hospital care. When people are sick, unless critical, they do not report to hospital. This has resulted in a high death rate. The normal householders cannot afford the costs involved in getting care. Greater numbers of junior secondary school-leavers abandon their educational careers as most parents cannot afford to pay school fees.

Owerriman College is the only senior secondary school in Owerriman Area Council covering more than 15 feeder junior secondary schools totalling about 600 pupils. When the college was reopened for 1996/97 academic year, the college was expecting at least 70 students but only 7 new students reported. As its Director and Founder, the fate of the college was reported to me and I had to propose bursary scholarships for 30 students through a special appeal for financial contributions. This helped the intake of members of new students to reach sixty.

In summary, the agricultural specialist teacher, in Pranum, confirmed in an interview, the socio-economic effects of SAP:

"Before the introduction of SAP, even though there were economic problems largely due to economic mismanagement, the economic conditions of our people were far better than under SAP. There were government subsidies for agricultural inputs,

and the financing of education and medical care. Farmers were, therefore, able to finance the education of their children. What ever economic squeeze they make towards financial contribution of even one student reduces their standard of living. Today most parents either borrow money from friends, church funds or matrilineal relatives, or dispose of their personal property like clothing or even the traditional kente cloth or household effects like refrigerators for school expenses and medical care. Others defray their loan or debt by remittances from a migrant kinsman. With inflation and increases in fuel prices, transportation fares have jumped after each budget, while the income of an average worker remains the same. The small scale farmers are affected by fuel costs for spraying of cocoa pests. Transportation costs also increase the conveyance of food from farm gate to town. The withdrawal of subsidies for farm inputs has made input costs expensive for the farmers, which affect agricultural productivity. Sickness gets worse before one is sent to a hospital for medical treatment and the cost in most cases is paid from contributions of the family members or kinsmen overseas. At times doctors demand extra unofficial fees for quick medical treatment. For no one is satisfied with his pay. At times after the discharge of a patient, hospital bills remain unpaid for months on end. In fact the policies of SAP have caused a lot of human problems" (Interview with Kwame Frimpong, Domeabra, 08-05-94).

1 From Akwamu and Esumegya founded Kumawu, Kwaman and Agogo Chiefdoms.

2 The Golden Stool was given the rightful position and the Asantehene reinstated as King of Asante kingdom but not as Chief of Kumase. In 1896, Asantehene had been deported to Seychelles, the colonial administration stripping him of his powers. When the king, Nana Prempeh 1 returned to Ghana, in 1924, he was recognised as Chief of Kumase. But in 1933 he was reinstated as King of Asante.

3 Cocoa Rehabilitation Project, see Chapter 9.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MATRILINEAGE AND DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN PEOPLE

In this chapter I shall portray some essentials of local administration and local social life in Domeabra-Owerriman, the area of Pranum where I concentrated my fieldwork. Domeabra-Owerriman refers to a traditional territorial area, associated with a founding Beretuo lineage. With Domeabra its capital town; the whole area has a population of around 10,000 people, of whom roughly half live in Domeabra itself. I shall focus on people's mobilisation of matrilineal organisations, and illustrate the sheer range of political and social goals that this permits them to achieve. In brief, people's membership in a matrilineage functions, in Domeabra-Owerriman, effectively as a social service, extending even to the provision of financial help and support.

6 (i) THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The Chief of Domeabra (Domeabrahene) is the president of Domeabra-Owerriman Divisional Council which sits in council at Domeabra. At the commencement of recent fieldwork (1993) the incumbent was Nana Frimpong Boateng. In contemporary times, a key issue, in the successful functioning of Divisional Council, is the educational level of its members. For example, among the council's wing-chiefs few are highly educated. They are respected representatives of accredited lineages (i.e. local lineages allied to the dominant royal Beretuo lineage) yet most were elected before 1960 when school knowledge was not the only measure for eligibility. A few wing-chiefs and sub-chiefs are well educated, having

completed secondary schooling or university, and these days these councillors take on a considerable amount of administrative responsibility. As to the incumbent Chief, he completed ten years of primary school and took up driving as his profession. Educationally speaking, he found himself between the educated elites and the uneducated people. The old wing-chiefs, such as the Krontihene (Chief's deputy), are well versed in the traditional knowledge of the chieftaincy institution. The Chief who, before his election, had not taken any interest in chieftaincy administrative matters refused to accept that the Krontihene and his contemporaries are knowledgeable and that there is much to learn from them. He was also not prepared to yield to the intellectual dictates of the modern chiefship administration. As a modern Chief, he had to be capable of understanding state politics and modern administration techniques. Nana Frimpong Boateng lacked these qualities, yet still wanted to hold power and tried to subvert the wing-chiefs by withdrawing recognition from them. Instead of bringing in competent men to help his administration, he had, because of fear of insecurity, installed some very rural-based lineage representatives as sub-chiefs. The consequent sycophancy helped him maintain his position and preserve the sub-chiefs' selfish interests. However his weakness in administrative matters and his lack of foresight created unpredictable problems for himself, the entire Beretuo lineage and particularly, his own sub-lineage.

The Chief's misrule crippled the administration of the town. A Chief does not need sycophancy but devotion and the support of the people. But Nana Frimpong Boateng lacked the

ability to mobilise people and was not securing the financial resources to maintain his administration. Because of his poor economic position, money intended for the Stool was embezzled without any accountability. He lacked organisational initiative for development projects. Whilst the councillors, as lineage representatives and family heads, could collectively or individually appeal to lineage members to contribute towards the town projects, the lineages rejected their appeal and concentrated instead on family matters; thus the town development projects were, unlike in the past, starved of financial resources.

By 1991, the council Elders led by Krontihene and the Adontenhene (town's principal representative), were pressing for the Chief's removal. They instituted judicial action against him at the Asante Regional House of Chiefs, where the Asantehene and the judicial committee of Regional and National Houses of Chiefs have the legal right to remove an inefficient Chief. In 1993, the case was judged in favour of the Elders.

In April 1995, his appeal against removal from office still pending, Nana Frimpong Boateng died in a lorry accident and joined the ancestors of Domeabra Beretuo Stool. The Domeabra Stool, which is traditionally called Amoantwi Stool, therefore became vacant. Following custom the corpse remained in the mortuary until the end of August 1995, whereupon his death and burial date was officially announced: "a big tree has fallen, Nana has gone to the village of the ancestors". After the burial, secret lobbying began for "a royal to take the gun of Amoantwi Stool". In Chapter 10, I will describe

the subsequent events, relating to the nomination and enstoolment of a new Chief. The point to make here is that, following this Chief's demise, the standing of the Domeabra Stool improved. The Domeabra Stool is of senior status in Asante chiefship hierarchy, yet the personality of the ruler had been detrimental to the Stool's overall political position. In particular, his untimely death provided hope that upon the election of his successor, Domeabra Stool could be elevated to paramount status. In 1996 this elevation indeed occurred.

6 (ii) THE AUTHORITY OF DOMEABRAHENE

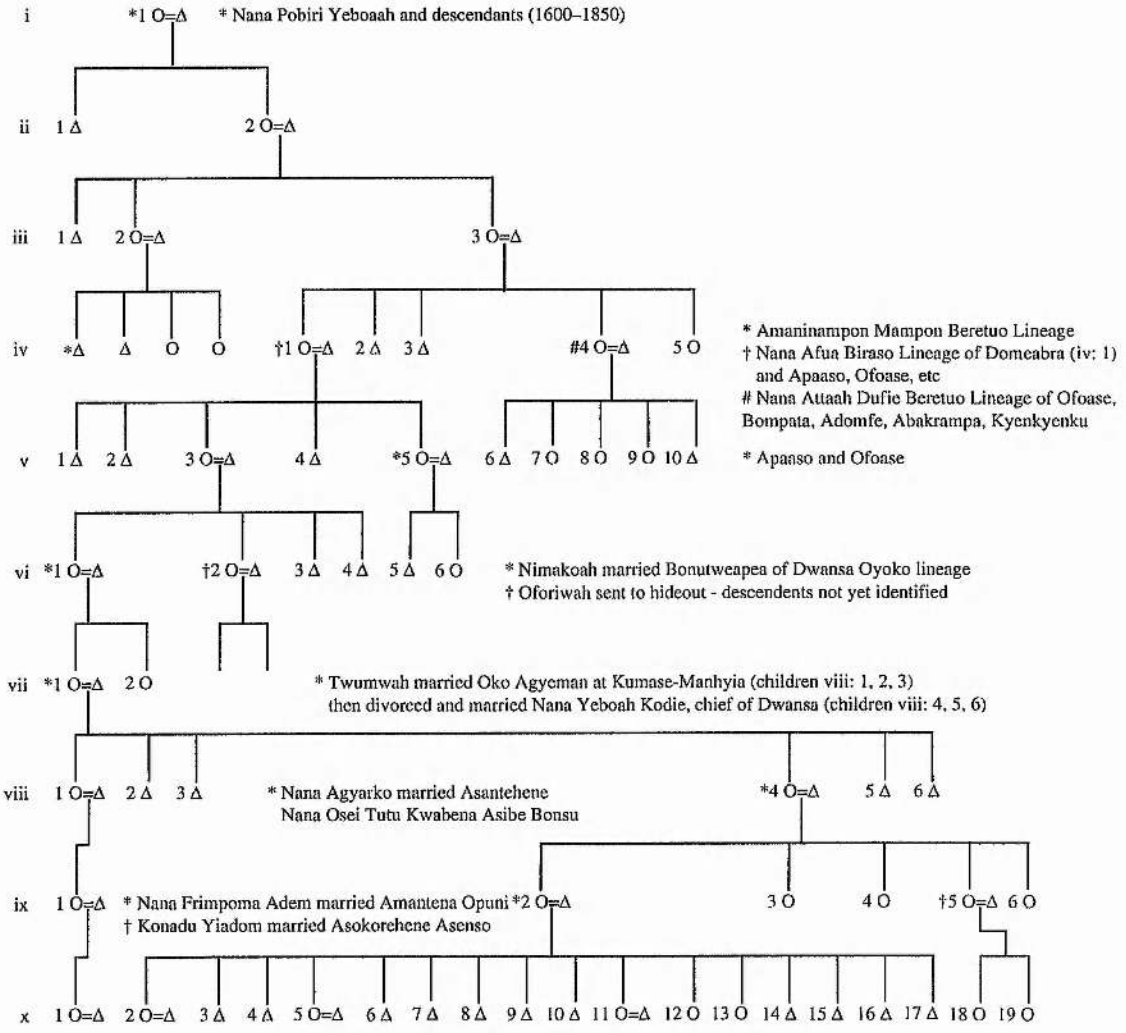
The occupant of the Domeabra Stool is chosen from a particular Beretuo lineage, whose ancestors migrated from Ofoase Akoaseman chiefdom of South Pranum. These ancestors had themselves originated from the Adanse district of Asante, in particular the towns, Ahensan and Ayaase (Map 3), which had been founded by two sisters (hence these towns are known as twin towns). A second group of these early Beretuo migrants went to Mampon in Sekyere District, north of Pranum. Beretuo people who remain in the original areas continue to be associated with Domeabra Beretuo people, for example in the installation of local Chiefs.

Through successful participation in Asante military campaigns (1750-1890) and in local wars with Obenimase (a town three miles from Domeabra) and the subsequent incorporation of conquered peoples and also domestic slaves, obtained through trade with the northern neighbours, the Domeabra Stool grew in power and status. Through this time

the Domeabra Stool had a strong army, its human resources drawn from numerous allied lineages. The Domeabra Stool honoured these lineages with wing-chief status.

Thus, the structure of local political organisation was laid down. Each wing-chief, or lineage head, administers his village and lineage affairs through the advice of his elders. By customary law, however, the wing-chiefs were in council with the Domeabra Chief as well as rendering loyalty to him. In short, the Chief is under constant check by the palace Elders. Likewise the Queenmother (Ohemma) acts as a custodian over the Chief's behaviour. The Ohemma and the palace Elders constitute an inner circle of advisers. At times they surround the Chief and pressure him to take the advice of the senior wing-chiefs, the Krontihene and Akwamuhene.

GENEALOGY 3A
THE DOMEABRA BERETUO ROYAL GENEALOGY



The authority of the Domeabrahene is based in a rich matrilineal ancestry. Domeabra's ancestress Nana Afua Biraso (iv: 1), was the Queenmother of Apaaso-Ofoase in South Pranum (for nomenclature see Genealogy 3A). Her daughter, Amma Asiedua (v: 3), married, or became consort of, Chief Frimpong Manso, the Chief of Kotoku in North Pranum. Her first daughter Nimakoa (vi: 1) was born about 1710. In 1730, Amma Asiedua founded Domeabra, about three miles from Kotoku (see Chapter 5). By this time, there had already been a few

villages established in the Owerriman traditional area. With her brothers, Bamfo (v: 1), Kusi (v: 2), Kwarteng (v: 4) and her own family unit, Amma Asiedua built a shed (pata) and named it Apaaso, although popularly it was called Patase (under the shed). It was strategically well positioned as it acted as transit for migrants. The land was also rich in alluvial gold washed down through the River Owerri. People already in existing villages like, Dwansa (on the other side of the river), were the first to join the Amma Asieduah family, which reinforced the population of the new community.

As a result of war between Asantehene and the chiefdom of Amakom, a suburb of Kumase, many Amakom Asenie clan refugees left Kumase and decided to found new settlements. They joined the Domeabra Beretuo founders in about 1750. By this time, princess Nimakoa (vi: 1), Amma Asiedua's daughter, had become the consort of the Dwansa Chief and they had given birth to another (patrilineal) princess of Dwansa Oyoko Stool and named her Twumwah (vii: 1). This was about 1730. Dwansa is situated on the opposite bank of the River Owerri, south of Domeabra. These events mark the beginning of the two territorial chiefships of Domeabra-Owerriman and Dwansa-Owerriman. Nimakoa, because of subsequent events, is regarded as symbolically the most important founder of Domeabra-Beretuo lineage, traditionally recognised as an 'elderly' woman, so she is titled Nana. Nana was the title given to a Chief or a Queen, but it was also a respectful term of address for an elder. As princess Nimakoa grew up in a time when the Domeabra chiefship had great political significance, she automatically introduced herself to the Asante

Queenmother (Asantehemma). This was in the time of King Opoku Ware 1, about 1740. She was given a status in the Queenmother's palace. Eventually her daughter, Twumwa (vii: 1), married Nana Oko Agyeman, Chief of Kumase-Hiawu who, at this time, was assigned responsibility at the king's palace, at Manhyia-Kumase. They had their first son, Amoantwi (viii: 2), in about 1750. He became a prince (i.e. son of a Chief) and also a royal of their original chiefdom of Ofoase-Apaaso.

In about 1740, Nana Nimakoa sent an 'apology' through Asantehemma, the customary way of asking the Asantehene for something. The request was to legitimate her Beretuo lineage, as royals of Apaaso, and for the legal recognition of a new Apaaso chieftainship, people and lands. The land was granted to the lineage and Nana Nimakoa was recognised as de facto Queenmother. As the village grew in size she was allowed to enstool her grandson, a qualified royal through his being a prince of the king's palace. The status of the village helped the new Chief, Nana Amoantwi I, to honour, as Krontihene, the head of the Amakom Asenie lineage migrants who had settled with them. As the village was very good for habitation, more refugees joined in the new Apaaso chieftainship, which was renamed Domeabra (Wo dome abra - literally, if you love me, come).

There was a town neighbouring Domeabra called Obenimase. Nana Anyan of Oyoko clan was the Chief of Obenimase. He violated Asante customary laws by refusing to pay the funeral levy to the Asantehene. This was a great offence. The Domeabrahene, Nana Amoantwi I was ordered by the Asantehene, Nana Osei Kwadwo to wage war on Obenimase. The Domeabra

militia consequently defeated Obenimasehene and most of his people were taken captive. Acting upon the orders of the Asantehene, the Domeabrahene married Bempoma Simpo, one of the captured royals of Obenimase. As Obenimase had been destroyed, with the exception of a few fugitives, the captives, who had lost their primary Obenimase citizenship, were assimilated into Domeabra community and given rights as primary citizens (see Chapter 3, for discussion of the idea of citizenship).

Nana Amoantwi's sister, Nana Agyarko (viii: 4), later on, became the king's wife and consort and Domeabra was accorded the position of a special military company in the king's regiment, titled the Ankobea (i.e. king's patrilineal descendants) wing. Between 1750-1837, as a result of further war, more captives were brought to Domeabra. They were all assimilated, laying the foundation for their respective clans to be given full citizenship. Their offspring were given statuses in the Domeabra chiefship administration. In this way, the Domeabra Stool developed into an independent territorial area called Domeabra-Owerriman. This territorial foundation made the Domeabra traditional area a notable division in Asante kingdom. The Domeabra-Owerriman traditional area was conceptualised in terms of rights and jurisdiction over particular lands including both forest and farm lands, legitimated through recourse to stories from the early 18th century. The descendants of Nimakoa became jural citizens and royals of Domeabra-Owerriman Stool. It is from this founding lineage that a Chief is today elected and enstooled. The Stool of the first Chief was consecrated with

the consultation and the concern of the Asantehene. The Domeabra Stool's name hence became Amoantwi Stool[1]. The consecration of the Stool underscored its legitimate authority and prevented any other lineage in the area having legal right to contest it. All other lineages were given wing-chief statuses or Stools. Both the founding matri-kin and patri-kin (i.e. initial immigrants who established affinal ties with the matri-kin) became the first primary citizens of Domeabra-Owerriman traditional area. From this time, the Domeabra Stool enjoyed great chiefship authority. The Domeabrahene had the right to distribute these lands to the citizens (subjects) irrespective of their being descendants of royal, captives, commoners or slaves.

6 (iii) MATRILINEAL RELATIONS IN RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN

My field study of households and household composition in Domeabra-Owerriman, on the whole, confirm work the Asante virilocal residence (Fortes, 1940s, 1949, 1969: 198-203). The Asante ideal is still for virilocal marriage. But unless their father has built a modern house (see below) children return eventually, generally in their late teens, to the matrilineal 'home' a compound house where they could expect to live beside their matrilineal uncles (and their wives). It is unusual for an Asante man to go and stay in the wife's residence. In the two hundred households studied (from a random sample in Domeabra - see Chapter 7), there were only two employing matrilocal residence. In the case of one, the wife has the control over the family house. The wife's senior

matri-sister and children had been long resident in Kumase, and he wanted to escape interference in his private affairs from his matri-sisters and their children.

The second example was a case where a man was initially staying, virilocally, with his wife at Pekyerekye, a village of Domeabra, but the couple left the village to stay in the wife's matri-house. She was a Domeabra Beretuo royal. Their children had become migrants in Japan and sent money to rebuild one of their old matri-houses[2]. Their father, mother and matri-kin now stay in this house.

Many Domeabra-Owerriman men, after co-operating to build family houses, have built modern houses for their wives and children (nuclear family). This is a new context for the Asante ideal marriage as being virilocal. Here, a major difference with earlier times is that the patri-children (i.e. the sons and daughters) could remain in the house irrespective of their marital status or age, whilst, in most of the virilocal houses studied by Fortes (1970: 8-32), once the children were around 17 years of age they would no longer remain in the virilocal house (along with their father's matrilineal relatives), and would return to the matrilineal home.

In modern Asante, matrilineal responsibility is still adhered to, despite the father now assuming considerable responsibility towards wife and children and his transfer to them of his self-acquired property (see Chapter 2). Moreover patrilineal ancestry, symbolised by belief in nton (soul), means that people are linked in both matrilineal and patrilineal association. This underlines the dual

responsibility, these days, of a man towards both matri and patri-families.

An example of such 'dual responsibility', is the case of my twin brother and I, who were brought up mainly on the financial resources of our father. Our senior brother and senior sister were half educated. We owe it as a responsibility to help both our senior brother and our senior sister's children (i.e. our matri-kin) by co-operating with our brothers in-law to finance the children's education. Also, as our senior brother and senior sister were not in economic positions to help rebuild the nuclear family house, built earlier by our father, those of us in better financial circumstances take on responsibility to rebuild a new house, for our mother's descendants. At the same time, as fathers we have a duty to build houses for our respective wives and children either in Accra or Kumase; at present my house in Kumase is under construction. If our economic resources would allow us, we feel it is an ideal also to build a house for our wives and children at our 'natal home'[3], Domeabra. In short our ideal is to detach ourselves from the matri-family house (see endnote 2) and stay with our children. The building of all such houses is associated with prestige and status.

Fortes reports (1970: 8-32) that, in the 1940s, a greater number of men who stay in matri-family houses bring with them their wives, but that, in families where the husband's matri-kin dominate, the wife may choose to remain in her own matri-family house, with the couple's sons living with the father's matri-family and eating with them, and the

daughters staying in the matri-house of their mothers. In my household sample 30% of married couples in Domeabra-Owerriman are in this divided resident arrangement.

An example of such a residential pattern, was the case of my senior brother, Kwadwo Ahen Kwabiah, who, before his recent death, stayed in our matri-family house (compound house) with his senior male children whilst his wife, Adwoa Nnuro, stayed with their daughters and the youngest son. When his wife prepared food, it was sent by one of the daughters to the matri-family house. Our mother was also served some of this food. Our matri-uncle, his wife and children also stayed in the matri-house and, likewise, my next senior brother's patri-family (i.e. his children) also lived in the house. The other members of the house were my senior sister and her two young sons and grand children.

Nowadays, in most matri-family houses built by a father, permanent accommodation is provided for the wife and children. This was the case with Oheneba (prince; Chief's son) Kwasi Opuni[4] who had been a Kumase resident since he was very young. As he was over 65 years old and wanted to retire to his natal home in Domeabra, he rebuilt his matri-family house as a two storey building. The rooms in the ground floor were allotted to his sisters and their children whilst he stayed on the first floor with his wife and children. He made a customary will stating that, after his death, his personal apartment should be taken over by his matri-nephew, Oheneba Kwasi Amoantwi. But rooms allotted to his wife and children should remain so in perpetuity. This was done to fulfil his dual responsibility as a modern Asante. Even with limited

economic resources he was able to build a multi-storey building.

6 (iv) INTER-LINEAGE TIES IN DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN TRADITIONAL AREA

Members of all seven original founding clans of the Asante can be found in the Domeabra-Owerriman traditional area (Kwabiah 1974). Within this area there are principles of communality, linking the respective seven local lineages. They all share opportunities for loans, land for farming, funeral celebrations and other social services. The strength of these associations, lies in the historical marriage alliances between the lineages. Also, the members of each village or, in Domeabra, each quarter of the town, are especially close, based on neighbourhood association; for example, one usually first looks for a spouse within the neighbourhood. As there are numerous affinal links between families, cross-cousin marriage is common. The kinship terms, brother, sister, uncle, are much used among such affines. Outsiders often make joking references, that "Domeabrafo dee oware won ho won ho" (literally, "Domeabra people intermarry their own kin or affines"). As incest is not allowed, affinal ties cross-cut Domeabra's geographical quarters. During funeral celebrations, members of the bereaved lineage and affines from other lineages co-operate to give a befitting burial to the deceased.[5]

In this 'communal spirit' people visiting the town (e.g. returning migrants) are taken by local relatives to greet all affines and friends. Presents of food are given to them,

particularly by in-laws. The abusua panin (lineage head) pours a libation[6] to thank the lineage ancestors for having guided them and to ensure their safe return. He, in turn, presents gifts like clothing and money according to the degree of relatedness, the visitor's status and role in the family, and the wishes of lineage elders.

6 (v) LINEAGE MOBILISATION AFTER THE BUSH FIRES

During the long drought and bush fire crisis in 1983, most of government food imports were distributed within the urban areas, particularly Accra. In the Owerriman area, people who had stored foodstuffs such as maize, rice and yam, as well as those whose food farms were not totally burnt, shared food with fellow matrilineage members who did not have any. In response to the bush fires, the respective family heads met and proposed that lineage resources should be pooled. They appealed to wealthier members to contribute towards the welfare of the lineage. I was in Ghana at this time. My matri-uncle, mother, two elder brothers, my sister's husband and the abusua panin held a family meeting to which I was invited. I was asked to consider the family's economic problems and housing needs. My brother-in-law made an appeal to invite his wife (my sister) to my place abroad to study in order that she could support their children who are my nephews and nieces. Other citizens were also called upon to help their kin to emigrate. (See Chapter 8 on migration).

6 (vi) FUNERAL CELEBRATION: MATRILINY AS A RESOURCE IN TIME OF EMOTIONAL AND SOCIAL CRISIS

When someone dies, their entire lineage, together with their patri-children, under the chairmanship of the abusua panin, meet to organise a fitting burial, and a committee, drawn from this group, is appointed for the organisation, management and financing of the funeral.[7] The eminence of the deceased and the life they led can be determined in terms of the elaborateness of the funeral rites.

In 1994, an eminent accountant, Kwadwo Adu, died. Prior to his death he had been employed as financial controller of GIMPA College, Accra. He was one of the most prominent citizens of Domeabra. Whilst in Accra he helped Domeabra college leavers gain employment. He also contributed to the local Presbyterian Church of Kaneshie in Accra. Likewise, he supported Domeabra educational projects. His death was, therefore, considered a great loss to the people of his home town (Domeabra) and to the local congregation of his local church in Accra. The church concerned played its role in the funeral and the burial ceremony. The deceased's matri-kinsmen and his father's matri-kinsmen co-operated in organising the funeral. The funeral expenses were paid by contributions, levied by the organising committee, from the citizens and the invitees. There was a balance left as debt. The remaining expenses had to be met by the deceased's heir. However, matrilineal principles required that the lineage elders, especially the wealthy ones, freely contributed to defray the debt.

Attempts have been made in Domeabra to form funeral committees composed of members from all seven lineages, but all such attempts have failed. People prefer to remain with the traditional method, whereby specific lineages, under their own autonomy, summoned the entire population to render a financial and moral contribution in the name of the deceased.

6 (vii) INHERITANCE

As has been mentioned before, for Asante citizens, ownership of land is vested in the Stool and rights of usufruct in the corporate lineage members. According to Busia, the introduction of cocoa promoted a transition from lineage to more individual claims over land. Yet individual property became lineage property in the long run (Busia 1968: 125). It might be always one person or a pair siblings who first farmed in the virgin forest. But all the farm lands, after the death of the owner, became a lineage property. Most of the early cocoa farmers looked for labour help from their matri-children and also their wives and their own children (or whoever will give it). Post-1960, cocoa farmers would get their father's or matri-uncle's financial support to acquire land outside traditional areas. Wives had no legitimate claim on such land, unless the husband, in consultation with his matri-family, decided to apportion part of the farm for her (Busia 1968: 125-127; Minutes of the Ashanti Confederacy 1942). During his life time a man could give a portion of his self-acquired, or private, properties to his wife and children. Then, the recipient had to pay thanks fees (aseda)

to him in the presence of the abusua panin (lineage head). Also a man could make a 'will' to give his own estate (self-acquired) to his wife and children. Family or lineage land cannot be disposed of in this way.

An example of the allocation of land in accordance with these principles, is my own father, Nana Yaw Kwabiah Asimpah, a Paramount Chief who had at his disposal both stool farms and sub-lineage cocoa farms. Before ascending to the Amantena Stool, Nana Yaw Kwabiah Asimpah was a rich cocoa farmer and cocoa broker. On becoming Chief he organised a communal labour scheme to acquire cocoa farms for the Stool. At the same time, he organised his six wives and children, as well as hired labour, to increase his self-acquired cocoa farms. Despite being a Chief, he never inherited any farm from his matri-uncles, nor did he utilise the lineage farms. He therefore used the 1942 Asante Confederacy law on self-acquired property to give a portion of his farm estates to his wives and children. But he left both the cocoa farms acquired for the Stool in reserve as stool farms for the heirs of the Amantena Stool, i.e. his matri-nephews and matri-nieces and their children.

During the Asante Confederacy Council meeting of 1941, Busia drew attention to the fact that the father could give part of a farm to his children if his maternal kinsmen approved and customary obligations were observed. In 1942, the Asanteman Council decided that one's self-acquired farm could be given to the wife and children. In Asante, when one says private or self-acquired property it means a property acquired without any financial or material support from the

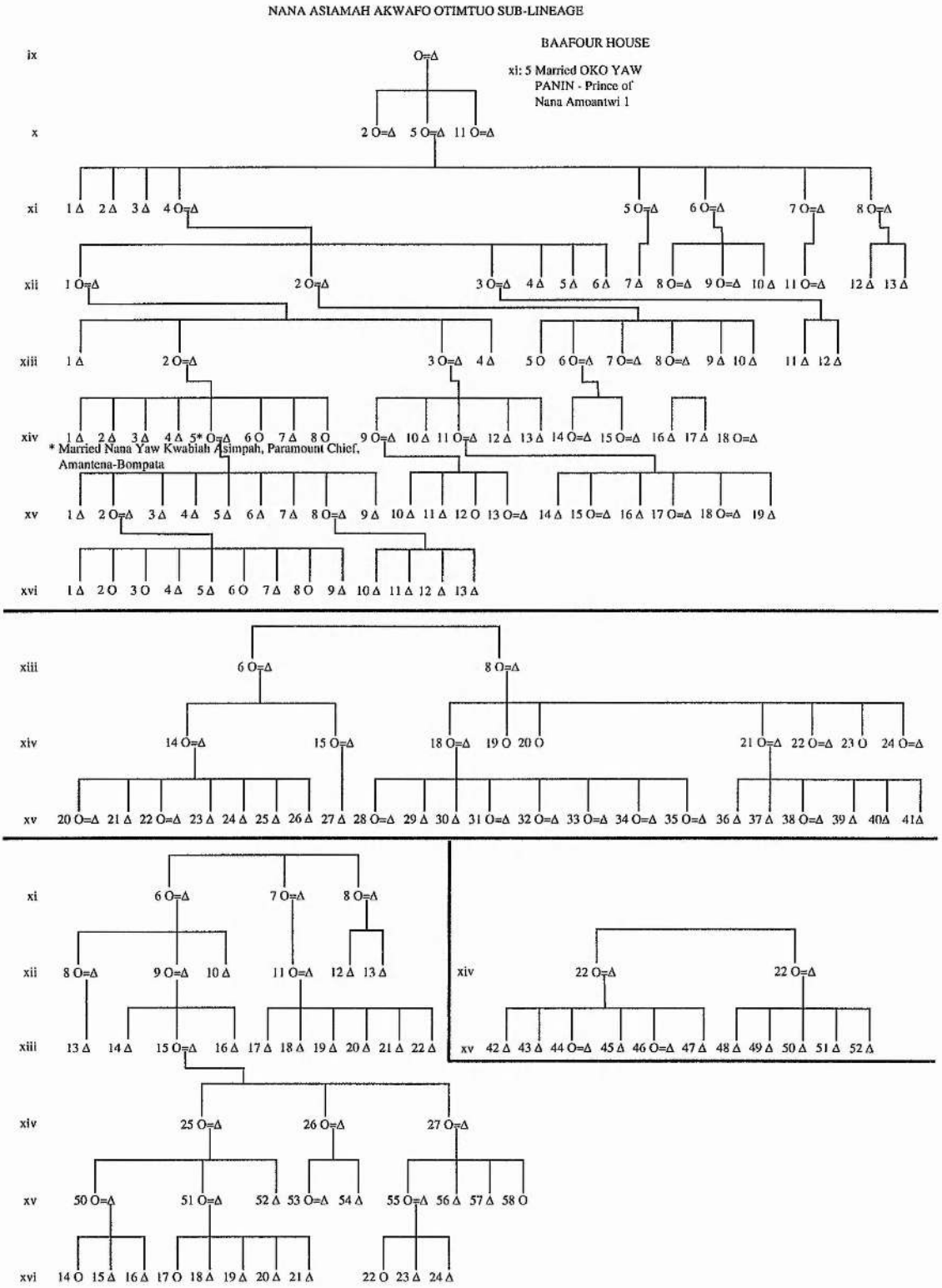
extended family or matri-kinsmen, because, in such cases, the estate owner usually uses either the patri-children's or wife's (i.e. his nuclear family's) labour. An individual, who wants to contribute to a sub-lineage estate, usually acquires, first, a farm and a matri-family house and declares them for the matri-family in honour of the ancestors whose communal farms and houses he was a beneficiary in his younger years. Along with his parents, his matri-uncle may well have mobilised lineage resources to finance his education. Such children owe a duty to the matri-family first before they can invest in their wives and children. Even those whose education was financed solely by their father still have a moral obligation to help the matri-family.

6 (viii) A CONTEXT FOR MATRILINEAL SOLIDARITY: THE CASE OF THE NANA ASIAMAH SUB-LINEAGE

My own sub-lineage, membership in which gives me, amongst other things, rights to land and rights to contest a royal Stool, is the Nana Asiamah Akwafo sub-lineage, which is a subdivision of the Domeabra-Beretuo royal genealogy named after its founding ancestress (x: 5), on Genealogy 3A. In Genealogy 3B I trace the descendants of this ancestress, who lived in 1800: living members of the sub-lineage are to be found in generation (xiii) - (xiv) (note that the two lower sections of the genealogy amplify the higher section). I appear on the genealogy as xv: 4.

Neither Nana Asiamah Akwafo nor her sisters were enstooled as Queenmothers because their mother Nana Frimpoma Adem (ix: 2), who was then Queenmother, lived for so long and

died at about 120 years of age. By custom, as long as the incumbent is alive, only a regent could be appointed to deputise for her. She was, therefore, succeeded by Nana Asiamah's daughter, Nana Anyiwah (xi: 5). The sisters were however treated very respectfully, as befits direct descendants of the founding lineage. When Nana Asiamah Akwafo died, her stool was consecrated into a Black Stool and placed in a prepared special room. In doing so, this house became both the sub-lineage house and the stool house of Nana Asiamah Akwafo. Both the house and the Black Stool represent sub-lineage identity as a 'family' corporation. The house symbolically represents the whole sub-lineage as one blood. We see ourselves, symbolically, as siblings with equivalent jural and political interests, under the authority of the sub-lineage, or house, head (efie panin). Thus in times of crisis, all living matri-grandmothers (xiii), grandfathers (mother's uncles) (xiii), and their nephews (xiv) and nieces (xiv) summon a meeting to which we, grandchildren (xv) are called upon to attend. We, in turn, invite our nephews (xvi) to accompany us. The entire sub-lineage numbers about two hundred people and we have at present about ten residential matri-houses symbolic of our grand ancestral Stool. We have a common farm estate, as well as our royal lineage right by direct descent to contest the Domeabra Amoantwi Stool.



GENEALOGY 3B

In Nana Asiamah's house, my mother's brother Kofi Baafi (xiv: 7) is our efie panin. My mother has two matri-uncles, who are

both wing-chiefs of special status. The senior one, Nana Kwadwo Duodu (xiii: 17) is the Beretuhene for the whole lineage (i.e. the royal people's exclusive representative on the Domeabra-Owerriman Council). The junior matri-uncle, Nana Kwame Nimo Opuni (xiii: 10), obtained, through political manoeuvring Ankobeahene status (i.e. representative of the Chief's children). The Stool should have been taken by one of the (patrilineal) princes. The efie panin and his two uncles and my mother, Adoma-Agyeman Kyirekuah (xiv: 5)[8] represent the house when the lineage Queenmother is involved in, and attends, 'family' events, such as the appointment of an heir to a deceased member of the family.

6 (ix) INTER PERSONAL NORMS AND OBLIGATIONS RELATING TO MATRILINY

People connected by matrilineal ties, especially close matrilineal ties, are liable to one another in respect of a myriad of social and economic duties.

Thus akwantufo (absent relatives or urban dwellers) and migrants (watwa po or oko Asuogya: Literally, 'those who have travelled over the sea') often provide essential financial support, in the form of remittances and capital, to matrikin who want to establish businesses. With regard to the elderly, services are directed to both parents and the matri-family. Thus children look after their parents in their old age providing them with food and clothing. In Domeabra-Owerriman, it is common for married daughters to provide their parents with cooked food, and sometimes, these women also provide food for their younger brothers.

Those Asante marked out as seniors, have conspicuous duties because age accords special responsibility. For example a senior brother of 45 years is responsible for helping the junior ones, below 45 years, who are in need. The junior brothers in turn give presents. The senior brothers may stay with some of their nieces and nephews in the town to finance the latter's education, should the need arise. The supervision of children, here, is, in the end, decided on the basis of parental residence. The majority of good, government secondary schools are found in urban towns and, at times, the children's parents may not be in a good financial position to send them to boarding schools. (Without adequate local education and without the means to send children to boarding school the children of many rural farmers do not receive a good education).

Generally, in a virilocal marriage (as discussed earlier), the children will stay with their parents until they are about seventeen. But, if both parents do not have the same residence, boys of twelve years upwards will stay with the father. When there is a divorce, the wife's parents and the husband agree upon the residence of the children. Normally, the father has a greater say in deciding where the children should stay, with several possibilities available. The father could invite the children to stay with himself alone or with his parents, or his matri-relatives, or with his sisters or brothers, or with himself and his new wife. In present-day Domeabra-Owerriman, raising children in one place as opposed to another may well relate to educational facilities and economic possibilities and many children do

not live with their parents. Relatives in urban towns, well able in managing their nuclear families, are in a position to help their kinsmen's children by inviting a brother or sister's child or children to stay with them. Among such urban dwellers either husband or wife could invite their relative's children. These children are often employed in the household or in some informal economic activity (Hart, 1973: 61-89).

Another interesting example occurred during my 1982/83 field work. My twin brother, Attah Adomako-Kwabiah, was a commander in the Ghana Navy and his wife was headmistress of the Ghana Army Middle School (now Junior Secondary School). At this time, they had four children of their own, yet, in all, housed thirteen people. Included were the maid, the wife's junior brother and sister, and her senior sister's daughter. My brother's two matri-nephews. A friend's son also slept there. In addition, there were intermittent visits from senior brother's sons who came for holidays. When I returned, in 1993/94, they had six children. The eldest son was waiting on news of admission to University. The next two eldest were in the Senior Secondary School and their adopted daughter, Adwoa Kisiwa, was now a primary school teacher. The wife's senior sister's daughter, now also a teacher, was still staying with them. My brother was retired from Ghana Navy and he had built his own house to accommodate these people. With him, as well, were his senior brother's son and one other relative who is an auto-mechanic apprentice. In 1989, I bought a Benz Tipper Truck for him to engage in the sand and stone business. My brother and his wife are involved in the

informal economy by supplying essential goods to the Volta River Authority. Some of those who stayed with them, as well as those whom they financed in education would send them remittances, because they had supported youngsters as an obligation as required by the principle of matriliny.

6 (x) AKAN SOCIAL IMPOSITION

In Akan society, norms and obligations function as distinct moral rules but there are also what may be referred to as the broader dictates of society. These may be termed social impositions, corresponding with the Akan notion, 'asedee a esese woye' (Literally: 'once bound responsibility ensues'). Basically, 'social imposition' refers to broad responsibilities which an honourable man must follow if he is to be respected. These responsibilities are today shaped in the context of modern socio-economic development. To be a proud Asante and for any strategy to yield a social position, one has to respond to social impositions. Lineage leaders talk about the concept, to remind their kin of the importance of such responses in the fight for political position.

Included among the principle responsibilities that fall under the heading of social imposition, are those relating to the financing of people's education and contributions to a relative's bride-wealth. In the context of modernisation, the demands on people's cash income have increased exponentially, such that this sort of provision is constantly being requested. In the case of bride-wealth, this is the case even though, in recent years, precisely because of the decline in people's economic circumstances since the 1980s, acceptance

levels of payment have become considerably reduced. Lineage members with greater resources bear the social imposition of providing a proportionately higher contribution to what the Asante consider to be social necessities. Those who successfully accede to such impositions are known as 'big men' (ateyiye, literally, 'well-placed persons').

Big men enjoy their prestigious positions more often than not, because they are wealthy. Indeed, they typically bear responsibilities to both matri and patri-kin. The 'Oteyiye' patrilateral responsibilities are restricted to the first and second descending generations. The 'Oteyiye' is morally obliged to support brothers and sisters, parents, both parents' mothers, and mother's brothers as well as patrilineal aunts. If sisters' children cannot be fully supported, by their husbands, or their fathers, this likewise, falls upon the shoulders of the Oteyiye.

Older relatives, such as mother's brothers and sisters, often say 'our child is a merciful child'. In the Akan language such an expression has a stronger meaning than 'our child is a kind child'. It is said with real emotional feeling. A big man's character is generally a sympathetic one, such that he may be expected to respect mother's brothers and sisters. However, a big man's mother if she is not kind or generous, may seek to deny other relatives access to her sons.

In patrilateral relations, such social provision, by the successful younger relative, is limited to three ascending generations of his root, beginning with the oteyiye's own nuclear family, then the generation of the parents and then

that of the grandparents. But matrilateral social services are intended as support to the entire community (the whole lineage and others in affinal relation with the lineage); the matri - Oteyiye is an office of 'social welfare'. Thus the Oteyiye's residence or house is effectively a 'community shelter', provisioning the disadvantaged members of the community. He offers shelter, clothing, money, advice and counselling. He is at times called upon to find an amicable settlement cases of household dispute (afisem). When there is an important matter to be discussed by the family, his presence is often crucial, as he has influence in the whole family. So it is that, young relatives starting work in the town are encouraged to work hard so that one day they will be Oteyiye. The position of Oteyiye is aspired to and portrayed as an ideal way to life.

There is a popular idiom in Akan, 'Sika fre mogya' (money invites relatives or draws relatives to a rich man); that is, people are attracted to the wealthy, for whom they provide services and work. In Domeabra-Owerriman such people are, overwhelmingly immediate matri-family members. Thus the oteyiye institution means that most unemployed, particularly young men, leave their parents, and even siblings, to live with an Oteyiye. They look for shelter, financial support and access to economic opportunity. The Oteyiye, it should be emphasised, provides for them not out of straight forward altruism, but rather because were he not to help he would be liable to the wrath of the family, which would jeopardise his future socio-political aspirations. The point is, that if there is a chiefship position available, or if he has a

general interest in political advancement, an oteyiye can expect to be virtually unchallenged. Yet, an Oteyiye's economic position since the mid-1980s economic downturn associated with SAP, is increasingly difficult. His dependants, instead of being content with being offered domestic services, now expect to be engaged as business assistants in the informal economy (Hart 1973: 61-89). Moreover, in present-day Ghana, fewer people are satisfied with their income. The SAP redeployment policy has restricted all labour markets, so that the Oteyiye cannot find jobs for his dependants in the government service, as was the situation pre-1980s.[9]

Based on my 1982/83 field work, I have composed an illustrative list of Ateyiye (plural) whose natal home is Domeabra-Owerriman, which in Table 4 I associate with their respective domestic situations. This list details these individuals' professions. All these people reside in Kumase, Accra or Tema, and their wealth has drawn many young kinsmen from Domeabra-Owerriman to stay with them. Remembering that this is the early 1980s, one notes the presence in the list of men involved with cocoa production. One should also note that the number of an oteyiye's dependants is also a function of how many other ateyiye there are among sub-lineage members.

(a) **List of Ateyiye**

(a) Cocoa farmer/storekeeper

(b) Cocoa farmer and rental house owner

(c) University staff

(d) Civil servant

(e) Accountant of corporation

(f) Commissioner of Police

(g) Military Commander

(h) Navy Commander

(i) College Headmaster

(j) Graduate Tutor

(k) Businessman/Lawyer

(l) Businessman/Storekeeper

TABLE 4: "OTEYIYE" AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

	Big Cocoa farmers		University staff	Civil Servants		Military Officers			Headmaster, graduate, tutor		Businessmen	
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l
wife or wives												
	2	3	1	-	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	3
Total number of own children aged												
1-5	-	-	3	-	2	4	4	4	4	-	4	2
6-11	-	-	2	-	2		4	2	4	-	2	4
12-18	4	10			5		3	2	5		3	6
childless				X								
Total number of other dependants - including adopted children and orphans												
	10	10	3	4	5	-	2	5	5	5	*	5

Even ordinary Asante have moral, spiritual and material responsibilities to their lineage and kinsmen. Specifically, he or she should uphold the good name of the family: in a

sense every member of the sub-lineage is his or her brother's keeper. In the event of catastrophe, displacement or mobilisation, whether the family has its Oteyiye or not, each member contributes his 'widow's mite' (the little he can afford). Even the have-nots contribute through counselling and labour. Interestingly, it is always at the discretion of the family heads to evaluate the have-nots. When a kinsman is sick and has no money, it is the responsibility of the family head to mobilise funds from the sub-lineage members to pay for the medical expenses. Upon the death of a member of the lineage, the whole lineage, along with a donation from the wider community, contributes towards the funeral expenses (ayie nsoa). If the deceased leaves debt, and there is an oteyiye, he politely tells the abusua panin that those who could afford little should say so, so that the Oteyiye pays the remaining balance. In absence of such a personality, the elders and the heir divide the debt. The head of the lineage will first ask the sub-lineage head to consult his uterine group before the entire lineage is called upon to contribute. In such situations (indeed, in any crisis situation), the sub-lineage head will appeal to members for their contributions, using the saying, "Odehyee anko a akoa dwane" (literally, if a royal does not fight, a servant runs away). That is, in time of crisis the sub-lineage members are expected to be concerned, and in this way they gain the support of others. The abusua panin usually advises that every member of the lineage is morally and spiritually bound to self discipline so that the lineage will have honour and a good name and be able to nominate a member for political or

social position in the community or state. He should also respect the cultural norms of the community, and is therefore culturally obliged to be responsible as a husband and a father or, vice versa, wife and mother. The abuse of all these can have a serious social effect as people will refuse to allow their relatives to marry people from such family.

Ideally, then, an Asante desires to be well recognised and respected in the community. This is notwithstanding increasing social and cultural differentiation. There is a popular saying in Asante "somebody is born on top of a hill" (Obi wo ho a na wawo no ato simpie so). It comments, that before a person is born the parents or forefathers will already have laid economic foundations such as family land, a house and kinsmen in social positions, and that some are more fortunate than others in this regard. In contemporary Ghana such fortunate people are, for example, the children of the highly educated, such as university lecturers, technocrats (technical experts), lawyers, etc. Such children are referred to as Dadaba. 'dada' means father, and 'ba' means son, but in this context dada connotes a well-placed intellectual father and dadaba the well-placed, intellectual son. Most of such children attend the best schools, notably private international primary or preparatory schools, and, on account of this they stand the best chances of entering good secondary schools and colleges. Thus, there is the division between dadaba and awiamfoba (ordinary person's child). Yet, for all this, in Asante, with the exception of a Chief, all men are ideologically regarded as equal and referred to as nkwankwaa (commoners). A key Asante notion, as we have seen,

is that whether educated or not, rich or poor, each Asante is entitled to aim for some kind of chiefship, this being the supreme index of social achievement (Arhin, 1985). Moreover, during festivals or on important occasions, like Christmas or odwira festival, all people wear expensive clothing in particular the gorgeous traditional kentey cloth (indigenous weaving cloth).

6 (xi) HEIR TO A DECEASED

An heir is always appointed irrespective of the economic resources of the deceased. Again, this is a matrilineage responsibility. The heir apparent is always the younger brother or matri-brother until sisters' sons are ready to succeed, and it is a taboo to refuse to appoint someone to stand as heir to the poor. Indeed, there is a belief that a failure to appoint a successor will bring bad fortune upon the family. An heir takes special responsibility for the deceased's close relatives or dependants (i.e. children, spouse and parents). The heir should be able to organise, not only his nuclear family but also his sub-lineage. He is expected to find extra economic resources to reinforce what he has inherited. These are the expected qualities of a heir. It is common for accusations to arise concerning corruption whereby lineage profits are not reinvested for the benefit of the community.

6 (xii) SOCIAL SANCTIONS EXPRESSED THROUGH MATRILINY

In Asante society, social sanctions compel lineage members to respond to specific norms and obligations associated with

matriliny as well as social impositions. In Asante society, there is a popular saying, 'feree ne wuo a fanyinam owuo' ('death is preferred to disgrace'). There is another saying, se 'wanim beguase a ennee ma sika anim guase' (to be disgraced let your money be disgraced). These two sayings make reference to the following principles: (1) a person has to respond positively to his social commitments; (2) a person has to contribute financially towards family and community. These two statements are often repeated by parents or family heads in guiding children as they contend with the surrounding social environment (see Chapter 2 for mention of satirical, religious and supernatural sanctions).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the strongest sanctions operating in Asante are gossip and ridicule, perhaps the most powerful force of law and order (Rattray 1929: 372-373). The power of ridicule can rob a man of self-respect among his neighbours and contemporaries. An example, relating to matrilineal affairs, follows.

A royal from Domeabra-Beretuo lineage, whom I shall call Biggity, came to London in the early 1950s. Whilst in London, he upheld his pride, at being a Beretuo royal, to all his associates, but, during this time, contributed nothing to his home-based 'family', even in times of upheavals and economic crises. Likewise, he never contributed to the development of the Owerriman community. His only outward demonstration, which occurred recently, in the 1990s, was to contest the Domeabra 'Amoantwi Stool'. His behaviour in the context of economic crisis back home, was typical of people who forget the past and ignore those who have contributed to the welfare

of their family. In contesting the Stool, he thought that with money he could usurp power. His strategy was to 'buy' power, and this was to some extent successful.

So it was that, at the age of 70, he made a casual visit to Ghana and visited his natal hometown, Domeabra, where he immediately started to construct a modern house. He attended local church services and demonstrated his wealth during church harvest with a surprise donation of money. He opened his modern house with a grand celebration at which he gave presents of money. Yet wealth is not the only capital important in leadership: the qualities of administration and politics are also essential. People reserved their judgement about him, because it might work to their disadvantage not to gain his favour. However, gossip, based on accounts of Domeabra lineage members resident in London, began to filter back to Ghana. It described him as autocratic, pugnacious and stingy. What surprised the more conservative members of the Domeabra-Owerriman community was that this man, who wanted to be the head of traditional administration, had no respect for the norms of Asante culture. People started to question his 40 year absence from his own natal home, and to note that, over this period, he did not help his own sub-lineage or nephews. At the age of 70, he was seeking historical recognition, looking for his name to be inscribed in the annals of Asante history. Gossip and slander continued to grow in magnitude and the elders let it be known that they would not be over-awed by his show of money and nominate him as the heir to the Stool. When this message reached Biggity he angrily withdrew from the Stool contest.

Spiritual sanctions are also extremely powerful forces in Asante, as we see in the following case relating to a breach in exogamy rules. A woman member of Domeabra Beretuo royal family and a man of Dwansa Beretuo royal family were both working in Brong Ahafo Region and, around 1985, they got married. The man, called Abokyi, retired as a police constable, and opened a pharmacy, and the woman Asembibebadabi, who had been a midwife, went on to open a private midwifery centre. The subsequent disaster that befell them relates partly to their own behaviour, as we shall see, and partly to that of Asembibebadabi's mother, Mfiwon, specifically the latter's inadequate attention to lineage duties, especially relating to funerals. Mfiwon, who resided in Kumase, had in recent years come to attend only funerals of her immediate sub-lineage and not, as she should have done, those of members of the broader lineage as well. Moreover, she failed to bring with her younger children. Indeed, in the late 1980s, disastrous events befell Mfiwon when Asembibebadabi's two elder sisters died. A lineage meeting was, at that point, called and the death of these two women was attributed to Mfiwon's inadequate fulfilment of lineage duties. Mfiwon was deemed to have offended the ancestors.

In 1985, Asembibebadabi and Abokyi decided to marry. However, they did not follow customary procedure, in particular consulting beforehand their respective sub-lineage heads. Instead, Asembibebadabi's efie panin (Mfiwon's matri-brother) directly introduced Abokyi to the lineage head, accompanied by Abokyi's brother and sister. The lineage head

knew that the brother and sister were members of the Beretuo clan, and it was, therefore, obvious to him that proposed marriage would be endogamous. He refused to sanction the marriage; it is a taboo to break the rule of clan exogamy. The abusua panin ordered, what for him were 'brother' and 'sister', to stop having sex. However, they left the community without paying heed to the abusua panin's instructions.

From then on, the couple ceased to participate in any activities of the two Beretuo lineages, in Dwansa and in Domeabra. They married under state law using state court registration. Their respective businesses were lucrative and they did not need financial assistance from the family. They, therefore, never feared for any lineage sanction. When one has private wealth, life is easier, the demands of the lineage do not need to impinge on one's lifestyle: one can live independently of the lineage. Asembibebadabi was a member of Ghana Midwives Association, and a member of the local Presbyterian Church. Her midwifery work was patronised by many.

In June 1994, Asembibebadabi died after a short illness. Her mother, Mfiwon, detailed her younger children to report the matter to the Domeabra Beretuo family and likewise Asembibebadabi's husband reported his wife's sudden death to the Dwansa Beretuo family. At exactly the time of Asembibebadabi's husband visit, a young man, Kwaku, of the same sub-lineage, had died and all the Beretuo members of Domeabra had assembled in a house, not yet knowing that Asembibebadabi had died. As the funeral rites for Kwaku were

being performed, messengers from Abokyi arrived to inform the lineage elders at Dwansa, and Abokyi's brother immediately passed on the news to the wife's lineage at Domeabra.

In Domeabra, Asembibebadabi's efie panin, asked Mfiwon's son, who had now also arrived, why Mfiwon had not come personally to Domeabra. He also asked about Mfiwon's whereabouts. He replied that Mfiwon was in Kumase. There was immediate condemnation of the deceased's mother's rudeness and arrogance which were deemed to be the cause of all these misfortunes of death. People shouted and scolded her as a witch. Over ten years, the deceased's mother's three daughters had died. But on account of the popularity of Asembibebadabi in her town of residence, Abokyi's brother insisted that the two Beretuo lineages should give her a fitting burial. The Ghana Midwifery Association, her residential town Presbyterian Church and many other sympathisers, in recognition of her good services, would attend the funeral. So, the lineage decided to suspend all sanctions and give their royal a fitting burial. The implications of the earlier sanctions would be discussed on the fortieth day celebration, the important festival when matters to do with inheritance and funeral expenses are resolved. The lineage ordered that the corpse be taken straight from hospital to be laid in state at her family house in Domeabra: she was now to be buried in the royal mausoleum not in Kumase as her mother had wished. The funeral took place the next Saturday and was well attended.

Funeral donations were contributed on the whole by visitors who attended the funeral. Many others, both town

residents and Beretuo family members, felt reluctant to contribute. For them, problems of the past could not be swept under the carpet. Funeral debts accrued to the amount of two million cedis, and they were defrayed only at a second funeral, held in the town of Asembibebadabi's residence as the town's people there wanted to make a local funeral celebration in honour of the deceased. Abokyi was aware that Beretuo elders would not help defray the debt of the initial funeral as he had broken the rules of exogamy.

On the fortieth day celebration (adaduanan), the two Beretuo lineages met at Domeabra, the two heads and their elders forming a council (efisem). The widower was charged with abrogating exogamy laws and was charged to perform the customary purificatory rites of giving one sheep and drinks to each of the lineages. He accepted his guilt and agreed to 'purify the lineages' by performing the customary rites as demanded.

Mfiwon and her children also felt the ramifications of lineage sanctions. Mfiwon's self-imposed isolation with her younger children led to conflict between her and her children. The children held her responsible for their alienation from the lineage and suspected her of causing the untimely death, through offending the ancestors, of their three sisters. The mother and the children were brought before the full lineage council where they were advised and encouraged to work with the lineage. The irony was, that Asembibebadabi did not live long enough to witness these sanctions. However, more pressure could have been brought to

bear on the couple to divorce. Divorce was in the interest of the lineage council in the name of matrilineal purity.

NOTE: It is interesting to note the difference between ancestors and witches and what these two different sorts of human agent do. In Asante society, ancestors are departed relatives who, it is believed, have spiritual influences on the lives of their living kinsmen. During their lifetimes, ancestors acquired lands for their lineages, so the lineage lands belong to the ancestors who were the founders of the Stools. The Asante matrilineal notion of descent is based on concept of the ancestor. It is believed they protect the living, spiritually, for it is believed they are between God and the family. At times some of them are reincarnated and continue life as living humans.

Witchcraft power is sometimes passed down from mother or grandmother, often to their loved ones. A witch is believed to possess an evil spirit. The Asante believe that some women have this evil power. It is believed that there is no good witchcraft. The Asante believe that originally witchcraft was not a bad idea, since the etymological meaning in Akan <u>is me ye me ba yiye</u> (literally, I am doing good to my child). It is believed that, in the past, every grandmother looked for medical protection for her children. However, when Asante entered into capitalism and people became economically differentiated, jealousies often arose. People having witchcraft powers, instead of protecting their children and other members of their families, tried to misuse these

powers. These people were brought to justice by local deities. According to the Asante oral tradition, since Christianity was introduced, people with such powers who became Christians escaped sanction from the priests and their deities. The irony is that, when life becomes difficult for some people, either they or others feel it is because of the evil action of witches. However, when someone is successful, she or he is often suspected of being a witch.

It is also believed that when someone violates the public taboo (oman akyiwadee),if he or she is not brought to justice by the traditional leaders (Chief and Elders or lineage elders), the ancestors can punish the living and even the state itself. There is therefore a need for sanctions to be followed by purification as shown in the case above. If an individual violates the sanction of the state, he or she could be punished by the ancestors. At times the individual may die or suffer a series of unfortunate incidents. However, witchcraft can cause death or misfortune to a kinsman or children which is not attributable to these individuals' actions.

6 (xiii) INTERDEPENDENCY AND MATRILINY

The matrilineal organisation of Asante and Akan peoples promotes an interpersonal interdependency which is quite unique. A brother, by culture and tradition, helps fellow brothers, sisters and next of kin. In principle, a person with money or material goods will help the underprivileged. They in turn, contribute their knowledge, experience and

physical services to the family. The family head who is usually the maternal grandfather or the uncle, meets the family and reminds them of their social responsibilities. For example, appealing to them to make a fixed financial contribution, or, if the elders are in a strong financial position, asking them to contribute what they can afford, in order to finance someone's education, pay for health care, etc. The efie panin exempts those who are too young or old to contribute, and those who cannot afford to pay.[10] Everybody shows sympathy to those who are exempted. At times someone will pay for a sibling who is impoverished but the efie panin may reject such provision, saying "You keep your money we understand your situation". At the other end of the scale, elders will be expected to make a substantial contribution, especially in an instance where they are heirs to a deceased and accrue profits from having inherited the deceased's economic rights. They use these profits to strengthen the lineage. Such proceeds are normally from cocoa farm, palm trees, rental houses and business stores, transport and from those who previously the family had supported through education.

An example of matrilineal intimacy was instanced upon the sudden death, in 1994, of a technocrat, known by his intellectual contemporaries in Domeabra, as Wamfo (literally 'friend'). Very well exemplifying Asante matrilineal values, Wamfo's significant case serves as an appropriate close to this chapter. Wamfo had a very distinctive college academic career up to university level.[11] He qualified as an international accountant, after which he became an internal

auditor for Ghana National Trading Company (GNTC) in the late 1960s. In 1980, he resigned to become a private consultant. In 1982, he became financial controller of the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA), Accra. He was a member of the Agona clan which has lineage (non-royal) in Domeabra.

Between 1992 and 1994, Wamfo lost his mother and two elder brothers and was left with a younger sister who was a midwife in Saudi Arabia. In June 1994, his matri-brother (mother's senior sister's son), who was a retired education officer, also died. Wamfo was upset, as he would have expected this man to assist him in managing family disputes. He was over-run by frustration and took to alcohol. In June 1994, after attending his elder brother's funeral, his health deteriorated and he himself died in early August 1994. He left behind him his only sibling sister, two children with his divorced wife, and his present wife, a minister of the Church and mother of four children. However, he had strong bonds with his friends and entrusted them to support his sister whereby they were to regard her as their own sister.

When Wamfo was still alive, he pinned a note in front of his house, '<u>Nsem nyinaa ha</u>' (Literally, 'every case causes problem'). This Akan proverb has significance with regard to present economic problems in Ghana. Rural residents may have regarded Wamfo as a well placed intellectual in a secure economic position. However, he himself felt there were other things more problematic than his social position, namely the threat of death to his family.

When the news of his death reached Domeabra his natal home, people were shocked and repeated his expression 'Nsem nyinaa ha'. In Accra, where he was resident, his friends and lineage members decided to transport the corpse to Domeabra for burial and concomitant funeral celebrations. His only sibling sister flew home from Saudi Arabia. The eldest son who was engaged in PhD studies in USA also returned home.

An advance team from Domeabra were given a mandate from both friends and the lineage to make the necessary arrangements to receive the expected mourners. Arrangements were made to receive GIMPA Staff, friends, Ghana Accountants Association, the widow and her extended family members as well as the lineage members of the deceased. The local Presbyterian Church also supported the family to give him a fitting burial. A substantial amount of money was spent, befitting a man with such high status. People from the community and all walks of life attended the funeral. His mother was a (patrilineal) princess of Domeabra of the Aduana Adonten stool. On account of this the Adontenhene (Chief of the Stool) and the elders of the Domeabra ward,[12] where the Aduana lineage stays, gave him full royal honours amidst drumming and dancing. He was laid in state on Thursday evening and buried on Saturday morning. The funeral ceremony was set for 1.00 p.m. on Saturday. Donations were received at this time. A Thanksgiving church service was held on Sunday morning. At 1.00 p.m. on the Sunday the family sat down again amidst drumming and dancing. In the evening many of the mourners left for home. On the next Monday morning the family were left to sort out the funeral expenses.

Contributions from individual friends and their family were clearly noted. My family, as close friends, contributed 10,000 cedis with many others contributing as much. This was an expected gesture, made on the basis of a reciprocal friendship with one who is regarded as a social brother. On accounting the money received from mourners against funeral expenses, there was a debt of 2 million cedis. The sub-lineage could not afford to pay such a debt. It would not, however, be good for the name of the family if friends were to leave the debt for the sister and the wife alone. Wamfo contributed much, not only to his local Agona lineage, but to the Domeabra community and its people as well as friends. The abusua panin appealed to a wide cross section of people seeking contributions in order to meet the debt. On behalf of the eldest son and sister, and in recognition of his love, Wamfo's first wife contributed one million cedis towards the costs. In doing so, she upheld the good name of the deceased and his children. Then, Wamfo's friends and contemporaries resident in Accra and Kumase, contributed 500,000 cedis, while his matri-brother, a business man in Accra, likewise, contributed 500,000 cedis. The debt was therefore settled, yet, in addition, the Adontenhene and his local Aduana lineage contributed 100,000 cedis to defray any further expenses normally incurred on the fortieth day.

In times of financial crisis, the abusua panin mobilises different groups to defray a funeral debt so that the deceased's intimate relatives (in this case the sister and the wife) are comforted, by being made aware of lineage support in their time of need. An outer might ask why the

sister did not stay in Saudi during the burial and funeral celebration so that she could have sent the money used for her ticket to serve well to for the funeral expenses. In Asante except in extreme cases close relatives have to be present for the funeral.

Wamfo's friends outside his lineage, played a supportive role. Most of them were not from Pranum but, because of their great love for him, they played a part as honorary members of Wamfo's Agona lineage. Moreover, Wamfo's children received support from them. Though not members of Wamfo's Agona lineage, during crises they could not be ignored.

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1 According to Asante customary law Stools are ancestral Stools and any Stool takes the name of the first incumbent Chief. The town's name alone does not give the Stool recognition and legitimacy.

2 MATRI-FAMILY HOUSE: Each sub-lineage maintains the original house of its founding ancestress as a Stool House. It is the main matri-house for the sub-lineage. But, as the sub-lineage develops, each uterine descendant builds their own matri house in honour of their respective mother or grandmother. Normally, as the matri house is a compound house, it could accommodate other members who might not be in a good economic position to build their own house. Such a house could contain five or more family units. It is mostly non-rental accommodation.

3 NATAL HOME: In Akan or Asante society where one is born or stays does not give one rights and status. Rather it is where one's mother or matri-family has primary citizenship (see Chapter 3). This village or town is considered in Asante custom as his 'birth place' or 'natal home'. An Asante citizen will proudly say 'I am a member of Domeabra Beretuo or Aduana or a citizen of Domeabra or a subject of Domeabra Stool'

4 Oheneba Kwasi Opuni was a descendant of princess Antiwah and a prince of Domeabra Stool. He inherited cocoa farms from his uncles. He was a retail store keeper and one time Kumase City Councillor. He commanded high social respect in the Domeabra-Owerriman area.

5 Furthermore, the ritual of sending an evening meal to the house of a lineage head is still practised by a few, (see Fortes 1970) thus symbolising lineage identity.

6 Pouring of libation is a form of ancestral worship. Bishop Damuah (1980) described this as 'Africania'. It is practised all over Africa, irrespective of Christian or Moslem context. The Akans pour libation on their 'Black Stool'. They conceptualise these ancestors as the medium between the living and their God. According to Danquah (1968) shrines were introduced to Akan society by other neighbouring ethnic groups.

7 The lineage head (abusua panin), the sub-lineage head (efie panin), elders including the most active senior women and representatives of the lineage patri-children, make up the funeral committee chaired by abusua panin. The committee arranges a catalogue of activities:

i) If the date of burial is not on the day of the death, arrangements are made for storing of the corpse at the mortuary.

ii) Funeral announcements, indicating the date of burial and the programme of funeral celebration. According to today's circumstances: On the Thursday preceding the burial day (Saturday) there is a wake. Friday morning, about 9am, the corpse is laid in state.

iii) The following day (Saturday) at 10 am the body is sent to the cemetery for burial. At 11 am the funeral committee and the lineage members sit at the funeral grounds to welcome mourners. At the same time a table is set and surrounded by the funeral committee to receive contributions from people. Each payment is recorded. Lineage members and patri-children pay special rates.

8 Abena Adoma-Agyeman Kyirekua is the senior of all the matri-sisters of Nana Asiamah Akwafo House.

9 The redeployment policy entails many government workers being laid off with small compensations to rehabilitate themselves by finding self-employed alternatives. There is, therefore, no new employment in most fields in the government labour market.

10 In Asante society anybody between 20 and 80 years is expected to contribute financially. If over 80 years one has in an heir, with a substantial income, he also has to contribute. But the underprivileged are exempted, irrespective of age. In the case of women, 70 years is the upper age limit.

11 Wamfo's parents were rural farmers. He had two senior brothers and one junior sister. His mother had two sibling sisters and three senior brothers. In turn, her brothers were very rich cocoa farmers. They educated their patri male children in higher education. Wamfo's senior brother had only 6 year of primary education and the next senior brother had 10 years of primary education. His only sibling sister, Akosua, received nursing education in London. Wamfo lost his father whilst he was in primary school. His education, from secondary school to University, was financed by his matri-uncles and senior brothers. In his educational career, from secondary school to university, he was judged the best student and won awards. He, myself and my twin brother were all actively engaged in Domeabra-

Owerriman and Pranum Student Unions, advising young students to take advantage of Nkrumah's free education policy.

12 The Adonten Aduana ward - Tanoso.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN FARMERS: ECOLOGICAL ADAPTATION AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES

In this chapter, I will examine the constraints that Domeabra-Owerriman farmers face as they try to earn their livings in contemporary Ghana. The farmers' adaptations, which are their responses to the local ecology and to pressures emanating from the wider world, have to be understood in terms of the economic difficulties the farmers face. My aim is to demonstrate the level of local poverty by considering examples of income and expenditure. What I hope to show is the extent to which economic survival depends on remittances from outside and that, in general, matrilineal social connections are crucial for making ends meet.

7 (i) THE PRANUM ECONOMIC SYSTEM: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Pranum District is tropical forest area. In 1994, the population of the area (North and South Districts) was estimated at about 140,000. Population density is therefore low. Two gold mining centres have recently been developed in the District. However, only a small number of Asantes have become mining workers. The Asante believe that to be employed as an unskilled labourer means enslavement. This is consistent with Asante practice with regard to gold mining in earlier centuries. Migrant workers would work the mines whilst Asante owned and traded the gold. Thus, in the twentieth century, it was considered very acceptable to farm cocoa on lineage-owned lands. In the mid-1950s, cocoa became the dominant crop in Pranum. Forest land which had originally

been cleared for food farming was taken over for cocoa production. Land previously used for food production, and now reserved for that purpose[1], was overly relied upon and hence became exhausted quickly .

Some young men and some cocoa farming families from Domeabra-Owerriman (led by their family heads or fathers) moved to the new forest lands of Ahafo (in Brong-Ahafo Region), and Sehwi and Wassaw (in Western Region). Others moved to areas still within Pranum District, such as Ofoase Stool lands and Bankame lands in South Pranum, to Afram Plains in Agogo Stool's lands (in North Pranum). These areas were less populated than other areas in Pranum and, as there were no good feeder roads, the area had not earlier been used for cocoa farming (see Chapter Five, page 203).

Labour migration was encouraged as early as 1900 by the British colonial administration. According to Thomas (1973), at this time there was forced labour in the Northern Territories of the then Gold Coast. After 1901, the Asante Kingdom and the then Northern Territories were incorporated into the British Administration. Through this administration, the Asante people became more intensively bound up with capitalism as mining and timber industries became established in the Asante Region. Hence arose the need to build physical infrastructure (roads, rail) linking Pranum District, Kumase, Accra and Takoradi harbour. A great deal of associated work had to be carried out in order that these industries, their work-forces, roads, houses and other services became established. The people of Asante were not interested in

contributing labour to mining, timber and construction since they preferred to be self-employed in the cocoa industry.

Before 1900, gold was the dominant currency in Asanteland and was measured through the use of fixed gold weights. Gold was used in buying gunpowder, cowries (sedee - cedi in Akan), slaves and salt (McCaskie 1995: 38). The Asante kingdom imposed taxes, which were paid in gold dust, on its respective territorial Chiefs. Other taxes were levied during wars and at Odwira festivals. After 1900, the British colonial administration introduced a Poll Tax, which was to be paid in cash[2], on adult Africans. Men were therefore forced to earn money by working for capitalist projects such as the construction of roads and railway lines between mining centres and the regional centres of Kumase, Accra and Takoradi harbour[3].

In addition to the money needed for tax purposes, Africans had also been exposed to western commodity tastes (in addition to the local staple foods such as yam, plantain, etc). With the awareness of the importance of money, and to be able to acquire basic needs in life, Ghanaian subsistence farmers became dependent upon the cash crop economy. The farmers had to work on cocoa farms to get cash to buy imported goods. Cocoa was cultivated by the farmers in all the forest regions of Ghana, particularly Eastern, Asante, Western, Central and the Akan District of Volta Region. There was a significant 'labour pull' from the grass or savannah lands of Northern Ghana, Togo and Burkina Faso to these cocoa growing areas (Hill, 1956).

Having increased exponentially from 1900 to 1950, the cultivation of cocoa continued at this high level after Ghana's independence in 1957. Fertile lands were still available and many people continued to move from non-cocoa growing areas to cocoa growing areas as either cultivators or sharecroppers. However, concern about over-dependence on cash from cocoa led to economic diversification after 1950. Farmers invested in the education of their children and kinsmen, in the timber trade, housing, transportation and retail trading. Those who succeeded after 1950[4] became large scale, and rich, cocoa farmers. They were mostly absentee farmers who employed migrant sharecroppers. Organisational ability in the maintenance and management of cocoa farms, other financial sources such as trading and, for a few, cocoa broking, led to great wealth. As had previously been dictated by the colonial government, the post-independence government also concentrated the provision of infrastructure on the urban towns, using the profits gained from cocoa. The rural areas were either neglected or little infrastructure was built. The urban infrastructure encouraged mass migration after the 1950s (see Chapter 8 on migration). Steady economic growth and urbanisation gave employment to many school leavers. This growth and urbanisation resulted from huge growth in the administration sector (in particular the civil service) factories in Accra and Tema, as well as the Akosombo hydroelectric power scheme, and the construction of offices, schools and hospitals. Mass movement of young men into urban areas affected family labour in agricultural areas because there was no further labour to be drawn from Togo and Burkina

Faso. Rural dwellers were attracted by the apparent wealth of the towns. Parents encouraged their children to take government jobs, since even a government wage labourer received a pension. In short, the best prospect for poor people was migration. Urban dwellers could work with the banks to establish businesses or could invest in farming as absentee farmers whilst, in contrast, the richest *in situ* cocoa farmer could expect to receive very little collateral for his cocoa plantation to invest in other business. Rural farmers consider urban dwellers to be advantaged in this way. The government policy of by-passing the small scale farmers was also the major cause as to why school leavers did not show interest in cocoa farming (see Chapter 4).

Another contributing factor to the shortage of labour for cocoa farming was the fact that, by 1960, the neighbouring countries had gained independence and their labour was redirected to urbanisation in their respective countries. Also, northern Ghana, which was formerly a source of workers, also stopped supplying labour as education became not only free but compulsory. The agricultural work-force remained mostly now ageing alien migrants. Ghana's education curriculum, which was geared towards white-collar jobs, also made farming undesirable for school leavers.

The 1969 Aliens Compliance Order resulted in the emigration of substantial numbers of cocoa farm labourers (Addo 1970). This resulted in farms deteriorating due to an acute shortage of labour. After 1970, the Akyeampong government, introduced an Agricultural Policy of Self-Reliance which initially attracted a large number of the

Ghanaian rural population. It was, however, the absentee farmers who got the loans from this scheme, leaving the small scale farmers to depend upon scarce resources. The government supported farmers through the Agricultural Extension Service which rented labour to farmers. Corruption and economic mismanagement, however, resulted in the continued decline of Ghana's economy. This forced growing numbers of people to look for work in urban centres. Many young people migrated to Nigeria. This mass migration worsened the already shortage of labour in cocoa growing areas, particularly Pranum District.

In 1982/83 there was a long drought and a subsequent bush fire. During the same period, about one million Ghanaians were deported from Nigeria. This marked the beginning of a serious economic crisis. Many urban dwellers returned to rural areas as a result of unemployment and the high cost of living. Most family heads appealed to government-employed kinsmen (who were badly affected by the 1983 economic crisis and the subsequent implementation of SAP) to return to their natal rural areas where they were needed to take part in the administration of the family cocoa farms estate and to care for their old relatives. The bush fire destroyed over 80% of the lineage lands. Family lands thus became available for use but required extensive rehabilitation.

Most of these urban returnees had either been given early pensions or had been retired by the PNDC government which was now in power. Part of SAP policy had been to make cutbacks in the civil service. Others resigned due to unbearable economic problems. Devaluation and the high

inflation made their wages worthless especially for urban living.

7 (ii) AGRICULTURAL CHOICES FACING PRANUM FARMERS

Several theoretical positions have been proposed which emphasise individual transactions with regard to agricultural choices. The basis of this theory is that the human being is a decision maker. Anthropological theory in the 1940s and 1950s portrayed society in terms of whole composite units with uniform consolidated identities. Subsequent theoretical discussion has shown these descriptions to be very mistaken and naive, and instead emphasises the multiplicity of goals of decision makers. A decision to undertake a course of action as a real life solution must be understood in relation to a whole set of requirements or constraints. When spoken about one of these requirements is singled out and referred to as the goal of the action. For many purposes, none more so than for the sake of simplicity, it is more meaningful to refer to the whole set of requirements as the (complex) goal of the actor (Simon 1976: 262). That, however, is not to say that people can do whatever they want. They have objectives which they try to meet - objectives, however, which may not be concordant with the views of others.

In this sense each farmer makes his own decisions within a surrounding social and productive context, for example the royal Asante lineage, matriliny etc - institutions which are greater than most individuals can contend with or have significant public affect on. Before the 1950s cocoa farming was labour intensive. Farmers employed family labour[5] and

extra wage labour, depending upon their own particular cash resources. During the cocoa boom (c. 1950 to c. 1970), the individual farmer used his cocoa profits to hire labour. However, after the 1970s, a decline in cocoa production and high cost wage labour discouraged young men from farming. Thus new young farmers often opted for seasonal cropping which is a short term goal. Cocoa cultivation is a long term project and entails possible loss. There is no insurance against drought and bush fire. An added danger of cocoa production is that, through being an export crop, prices are determined by an often unfavourable world market. In addition, the government acted as the sole buyer and controller of cocoa sales. In these circumstances the interests of local producers often came after those of government officials. Meanwhile, if the price for foodstuffs falls, the producers always have the alternative of eating the produce, which is obviously not the case for cocoa producers. Cocoa takes 5 to 7 years' investment while seasonal crops take 6 months' to one year's investment. According to Ortiz, choice follows a preference not only for a maximum outcome but also for a minimum of cost or uncertainty (Ortiz 1978: 195). The Domeabra-Owerriman farmers tried to maximise one goal subject to satisfactory levels of other goals. They were aware of the environmental constraints on growing food crops. For example, they could expect one year in every seven to be a drought year. Withdrawal of subsidies in 1989 also increased the price of agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and insecticides.

According to Ortiz, rationality implies that when the actor is faced with a set of alternative actions, he will try to manipulate them in accordance with his own particular preferences (Ortiz 1978: 192). The Pranum cocoa farmers are affected by international price fluctuations, coupled with old age and size of their household, all of which affect the amount of food crops they plant and their annual income from cocoa harvest. After 1900, rural Asante preferred to grow more cocoa. After 1983, due to market fluctuations, the new farmers preferred to grow food crops as they had a ready market and the farmers freely negotiated prices in relation to demand.

The choice between wage labour and cash cropping

The principal characteristics of wage labour[6] (private or government) and cash cropping which influence economic decision-making have been the amount of return from labour, time commitment, physical requirements, and pleasantness of working conditions (Chibrik 1975: 96-97). In Pranum, young men and women work for wages in government-sponsored cocoa rehabilitation projects, gold mining, and the timber industry. Wage labour in rural areas does not usually involve migration and young men and women travel from their villages to farms, mining and timber projects, and return home in the evening. They leave home at about 7.00 am and return home at about 4.00 pm, sometimes walking about 3 miles to get to farm work. However, government labour and work in urban areas is usually migratory (e.g. people have migrated from Pranum to Kumase and Accra [33 miles and 130 miles respectively]).

In 1993/94, most wage labourers earned about 1,000 cedis (50 pence) a day, which amounts to about 6,000 cedis for a week's work (£3). Those who worked at the mines or cocoa rehabilitation project were paid a monthly wage of 30,000 cedis. They bought their own food each day at a cost of 100 cedis. (These were the figures given by the majority of wage workers I interviewed [see later discussion in this chapter on income distribution]). The cocoa and food farm labourers were given free food by the farmer. There was a minimum payment to such farm labourers. This payment was decided by the Ghana government and depended upon the rate of inflation and the value of the cedi.

Food crops include corn/maize, rice, plantains, yams, cocoyams, cassava, red beans and vegetables. All are grown by slash-and-burn methods. In addition, cocoa farmers produce oranges and avocados, as well as growing cocoa. Local farmers' profits from these produce vary according to land quality, market and weather conditions. Crops are grown both for home consumption and for sale (see Chibrik 1978 for details). The significant difference between producing food crops for sale and producing cocoa is that a substantial amount of financial input is required to initiate the latter. It also requires greater labour input.

Farmers' impressions of profit are interesting in this regard. Food crop producers, because of the short-term maturation period, are able to conceive of the profits on a per diem basis, reckon that their profits are greater than for cocoa farmers. For their part, cocoa farmers, able to experience profit only on a long term basis (up to thirty

years) reckon the opposite. In my estimation, the average profits for food crop and cocoa sales are quite similar, and indeed similar also to wage work[7]. There are, however, important differences between farming and wage income sources with regard to risk, speed of returns, and composition of work-forces. Wage labour provides a more consistent return. The major dangers involved in farming, which at times become unavoidable, are uncertain markets, pests (such as animals, birds and insects) and diseases. These dangers vary in relation to particular crops. That is one of the reasons why the farmers usually intercrop different crops on the same field (e.g. plantain, cocoyam, yam, cassava, beans, rice, and others). In Pranum, a hired farm labourer usually earns 1000 cedis per labour day from food-crop farming. A wage labourer can expect to be paid every four weeks. In contrast, a farm owner who begins clearing fields in December to cultivate in mid-March cannot expect monetary returns from corn, yam, rice or cassava until at least September, and he must wait still longer to receive returns from plantains and root crops. As mentioned earlier, cocoa trees take between 5 to 7 years to reach production capacity.

The work involved in growing, harvesting and selling requires the support of husbands, wives, children, other relatives and friends. The women and children usually help with planting, cultivating and harvesting. Women have some say in deciding which crops are grown and where they are grown. Men, however, generally act as sub-lineage farm managers and maintain strong patri-social links to help their nuclear family (see Chibrik 1975: 132-135, for detail on the

division of labour). In every sub-lineage, the adult males and in-marrying husbands engage in most types of wage labour because wage labour, being an individual matter, allows for greater autonomy and flexibility in the management of economic livelihood.

The varying patterns of social differentiation in Domeabra-Owerriman area are based on historical precedent. After 1950, there were equal opportunities for sub-lineages to educate their children. However, most families with large cocoa farms were more concerned with cocoa farming than the higher education of their children. Family planning was never considered. The birth rate in such families increased. The families heads' expenditure became greater or equal to the annual cocoa output. Most of the children from these families were not interested in farming so their labour could not be utilised for the rehabilitation of the families' cocoa farms. Surely the shortage of labour is a culturally created shortage, even when the unemployed or migrants returned there still remained a shortage of labour. After 1980, most of these young people became urban migrants engaged in unskilled wage labour. Such Domeabra residents who lived in large households, because they enjoyed relatively great labour surpluses, would devote a higher proportion of their labour time to waged work than those in small households, just as in rural areas men with large households were relatively better placed to invest in cocoa farming and in their own food crop farms.

7 (iii) INTRODUCTION OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME (SAP)

As discussed earlier in Chapter 4, in 1983 The Ghana's Government, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank introduced a new investment policy called SAP. The Ghana cedi was devalued over 1000 times. Capital accumulated by urban workers was reduced to nothing. For example, my senior brother, Nuamah Kwabiah, who worked as a principal internal auditor at the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board. He voluntarily retired and was paid a retirement lump sum of 120,000 cedis for his 25 years' service. This remuneration would have been equivalent to US $120,000 in 1982. After the devaluation he was left with about $120 to invest in food farming. He made the decision to join our senior brother in cocoa farming. The proceeds from the cocoa were their only source of income but the devaluation also affected the producers' income from cocoa.

Many urban dwellers could not fulfil their ambitions to return to their natal homes to invest as devaluation and the whole impact of SAP had eroded their capital. Most of these urban dwellers were prominent lineage members who had been sending remittances to the their respective sub-lineages. Returnees from Nigeria had no other choice than to enter into agriculture as they could not earn enough money to invest in other businesses (such as urban trading). However, at least with agriculture they had free access to lineage farm lands.

There were other significant effects of SAP, including the withdrawal of subsidies for education, medical care, agricultural inputs and petroleum resulting in an increase in school fees, health care and transportation costs. Farmers

could not afford to buy insecticide or fertilisers. Likewise, the sick could not get to hospitals quickly to receive medical care and this has resulted in an increased death rate. All these effects have contributed to a decline in agriculture and led to overseas migration (see Chapter 8).

7 (iv) THE PRANUM HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

In the 1990s, farming in the Pranum District is usually organised through the household. Two forms of agricultural production can be identified with household production: subsistence food crops, of which a percentage is market oriented; and cash crops, in particular cocoa, grown solely for commercial production. The people of Domeabra-Owerriman practice either one of these or both. This may be seen in Table 5 which provides a breakdown of the differential incomes of 57 interviewed informants, selected from an initial sample of 200 farmers. These informants were selected on the basis of their producing a minimum of 5 loads (100 kilos) of cocoa per annum and those producing food and other income over 300,000 cedis, which, according to local opinion, made them 'effective' cocoa farmers and food crop farmers.

The most widely available food crops[8] are plantain, yam, cocoyam, cassava, maize and rice. Vegetable crops include onions, tomatoes, red pepper, okra and ginger. Other crops include beans and watermelons. Farmers continued to cultivate in an area of increasing marginality which have undergone discernible change from tropical thick forest to semi-forest. The slash and burn farming employed is a very effective traditional method of farming whereby the burnt bio-products

give an effective manure (instead of fertilisers [Richards, 1985]). The ecological effects on the environment can be enormous, as in 1983, when, during a period of severe drought, the traditional burning method was responsible for devastating bush fires.

Cattle keeping was not common among the Asantes until 1980. Rather, the traditional material basis was agriculture along with a few individually owned domesticated animals, such as sheep, goats and chicken, supplemented by hunting and river fishing. As a result of a recent reduction of such stock, medium scale livestock (sheep, goats, cattle) and poultry farming have proved the best modern day alternative, particularly for the returnees from urban areas.

TABLE 5: EFFECTIVE COCOA FARMERS AND FOOD CROP FARMERS: CROP PRODUCTION SALES

KEY

FC:	Food crops: maize, tomatoes, cassava, onions, pepper, garden eggs, etc.	Lvt:	livestock	un:	university
		Ptry:	poultry	Th:	Teacher
Pt(n):	palm trees (number)	Hunt:	hunting	F:	female farmer
Pl.wn:	palm wine	Primary:	primary school	Ha:	hectare
Pl.oil:	palm oil	Sec:	secondary school		
		coll:	college		

NAMES	AGE	DEPENDANTS	EDUCATION (YEARS)	FARM EXPERIENCE (YEARS)	COCOA FARM SIZE (HECTARES)	1992-93 VALUE (CEDIS)	FOOD CROPS FARM SIZE (HECTARES)	FOOD CROP SALE AND OTHER INCOME	VALUE (CEDIS)	ANNUAL INCOME (CEDIS)	PER CAPITA INCOME (CEDIS)
Emmanuel Kofi Owusu	60	10	10 yr Primary	34	14.0	2,223,000	12.0	Pt(200) Ptry FC(1) FC(2)	80,000 154,000 2,034,000 50,000	5,331,000	484,545
Kofi Kore	57	3	10 yr Primary	37	8.2	1,197,000	3.6	Pt(60) FC	28,000 200,000	1,425,000	473,667
Kwasi Kosi	61	6	10 yr Primary	40	12.2	2,230,000	8.2	Pt(70) FC	80,000 450,000	2,701,000	450,167
Kwasi Oko Agyeman	60	5	10 Yr Primary + 5 Yr Sec.	20	16.0	1,615,000	8.2	Pt(50) Lvt FC Pl.wn	20,000 34,000 111,000 408,000	2,188,000	437,600
Th. Nana Kwame Frimpong	68	4	10 yr Primary + 5 yr. sec + 2 yr.	35	3.1	380,000	3.2	Pt(40) FC Salary	24,000 200,000 1,080,000	1,684,000	421,000
Op. Kofi Asiamah	83	1	5 yr Primary	60	5h.0	380,000	-	Pt(100)	40,000	420,000	420,000
Nana Amoako-Attah	50	4	10 yr Primary + 4 Yr coll + un	25	6.0	760,000	1.2	Pt(60) Ptry FC salary	24,000 100,000 60,000 108,000	2,024,000	404,800
Th Kwame Marfo	67	8	10 yr Primary	34	14.1	2,375,000	-	salary	840,000	3,215,000	401,875
Kwadwo Ofosu	66	2	10 yr primary	30	6.5	760,000	-	Pt(100)	40,000	800,000	400,000

Oheneba K. Appiah Rtd. Driver	68	6	-	38	5.0	760,000	-	Pt(80) transport business	32,000 1,500,000	2,292,000	382,000
Kwadwo Oduro	65	4	10 yr Primary	20	6.5	1,046,000	2.5	Pt(250) FC	100,000 300,000	1,446,000	361,500
Kwadwo Amoako Opuni Drug Storekeeper	42	3	10 yr primary + 3 yr	8	-	-	0.4	FC Drug sales	300,000 720,000	1,020,000	340,000
Mr Kwaku Tannoh	67	6	10 yr Primary	34	6.5	665,000	-	Pl.wn extra income	136,200 1,225,800	2,027,000	337,833
Agya Kwabena Amo	75	3	-	50	8.0	570,000	2.5	Pt(60) FC	24,00 400,000	994,000	331,333
Mr. K. A. Nuamah	60	5	10 yr Primary + 5 yr sec. + 2 yr Audit	10	15.0	1,520,000	3.5	FC	100,000	1,620,000	324,000
Th. Master Akyeampong	60	5	10 yr Primary + 4 yr college	40	-	-	1.2	FC Ptry salary	300,000 200,000 1,080,000	1,580	316,000
Th. K. Opuni-Frimpong	51	5	10 yr primary + 4 yr coll	20	4.5	350,000	2.2	Pt(60) FC salary	24,000 200,000 960,000	1,564,000	312,800
Th. Nana Kwadwo Opuni	60	6	10 yr Primary + 4 yr coll	28	4.2	570,000	3.4	Pt(60) FC salary	24,000 200,000 1,080,000	1,874,000	312,333
Kwasi Ofori-Agyei Tawiah	55	5	10 yr Primary	30	4.9	1,221,700	2.4	Pt(150) Pl.0il FC	60,000 60,000 330,330	1,552,030	310,406
Oky. Kwasi Attah	75	5	-	55	3.5	760,000	2.8	Pt(80) FC	32,000 735,000	1,527,000	305,400
Th Kwadwo Attah Asare	48	5	10 yr Primary + 5 yr sec.	20	11.75h	342,000	1.5	FC Salary	200,000 960,000	1,502,100	300,667
Kofi Attah retired driver	70	2	-	20	3.5	380,000	2.3	Pt(100) FC	40,000 150,000	570,000	285,000
Nana Yaw Oppong	79	6	-	60	5.8	1,462,500	2.3	Pt(60) FC	24,000 200,000	1,686,00 0	281,000
F/. Yaa Ntiwah	60	3	-	45	2.7	380,000	1.5	Pt(60) FC	24,000 435,000	839,000	279,667
Adwoa Konadu	74	2	-	50	0.8	475,000	2.6	Pt(60) FC	24,000 324,000	823,000	274,333

Mr. J. E. Duh retired storekeeper	65	4	10 yr Primary	15	4.8	570,000	3.6	Pt(60) FC	24,000 472,000	1,066,000	266,500
Nana Kwame Opuni	85	2	-	65	5.8	380,000	2.5	Pt(80) FC	32,000 100,000	512,000	256,000
Op. E. K. Baafi	85	5	5 yr Primary	60	8.5	1140,000	2.5	Pt(60) FC	24,000 106,000	1,270,000	254,000
Op. Kwadwo Kwarteng	82	3	-	60	5.7	570,000	2.5	Pt(80) FC	32,000 150,000	742,000	247,333
Kwame Boakye shoemaker	68	4	-	40	3.8	475,000	-	shoe repairs	500,000	975,000	243,750
Kwaku Asare Afriyie	48	3	10 yr Primary + 4 yr Techn	24	5.5	285,000	-	Pt(60) FC	24,000 400,000	709,000	236,333
F. Abena Akyeampoma	54	3	10 yr primary	24	3.5	380,000	3.8	Pt(60) FC	24,000 300,000	704,000	234,667
Police Insp.Agyarko	49	6	10 yr. Primary + 5 yr.sec	19	5.8	570,000	2.5	Pt(80) FC salary	32,000 100,000 77,000	1,402,000	233,667
F. Adwoa Bedwoo Ampoma	69	2	-	52	4.5	285,000	2.3	Pt(60) FC	24,000 155,000	464,000	232,000
F. Mame Nyarko	72	3	-	50	5.7	570,000	2.2	Pt(60) FC	24,000 100,000	694,000	231,333
Akuamoah	65	7	-	50	14.5	1,520,000	-	Pt(60)	24,000	1,544,000	220,571
Op. Yaw Ofosu	85	2	-	65	7.3	380,000	-	Pt(80)	32,000	412,000	206,000
F. Adwoa Ntiwah	68	5	-	50	3.4	475,000	2.5	Pt(60) FC	24000 435,000	934,000	186,800
Kofi Nimo	46	6	10 Yr Primary	20	4.5	380,000	2.2	Pt(100) FC Lvt	40,000 200,000 500,000	1,120,000	186,667
Kwadwo Aworo	58	11	-	40	6.8	1,758,400	1.8	Pt(80) FC	32,000 200,000	1,990,000	180,945
Yaw Ntem	48	5	10 Yr. Primary	28	2.2	665,000	1.2	Pt(70) FC	28,000 200,000	893,000	178,000
Kwame Adampah	68	5	-	50	3.8	380,000	2.8	Pt(60) FC	24,000 375,000	779,000	155,800
Nana Amoako Gyampah	56	8	10 yr. Primary	20	3.5	380,000	1.3	Pt(125) FC kente weaving	60,000 300,000 360,000	1,100,000	137,500
Kwasi Akyeampong (Acquah)	72	5	-	50	3.8	570,000	1.5	Pt(40) FC	18,000 60,000	648,000	136,800

Kwadwo Marfo-Ntiamoah	40	6	10 yr Primary +5 yr sec.	25	-	-	3.6h	Pt(45) FC	18,000 800,000	818,000	136,467
Yaw Nti Retired driver	75	3	-	40	3.8	285,000	1.5	Pt(70) FC	28,000 100,000	409,000	136,333
Adu Kwakye (Agya Adu)	38	3	10 yr Primary	-	-	-	1.2	FC	400,000	400,000	133,333
Salifu Moro	65	7	-	50	-		2.0	Kola FC Remitt ance	480,000 120,000 300,000	900,000	128,714
Op. Buronya	80	4	-	65	2.4	380,000	1.6	Pt(80) FC	32,000 100,000	512,000	128,000
Op.Kwasi Ohene	83	3	-	57	3.2	228,000	1.6	Pt(125) Pl.oil Fruits FC	60,000 33,000 120,000 159,000	600,000	120,000
F. Afuah Twumwah	75	2	-	50	2.3	190,000	-	Pt(30)	12,000	202,000	101,000
Kwadwo Appiah	67	6	-	40	3.7	285,000	2.8	Pt(30) FC	12,000 300,000	596,000	99,367
Oky. Kwadwo Aworo	55	5	10 yr Primary	35	3.2	114,000	2.9	Pl.wn FC Hunt.	360,000 178,000 100,000	752,000	94,000
Amma Attaah	70	7	-	52	6.5	304,000	1.5	Pt(80) FC	32,000 300,000	636,000	90,857
Yaw Barimah	75	3	-	50	1.5	190,000	2.5	Pt(125)	60,000	250,000	83,333
Oyokoba	65	5	-	45	1.1	190,000	2.3	Pt(40) FC	16,000 200,000	406,000	81,200
Musa Kwadwo Marfo	69	11	-	54	2.5	237,000	1.8	FC Lvt	200,000 250,000	687,000	62,000

SOURCE: Interviews and Farmers' Sales Book 1993/94.

Today, most people depend heavily on imports which can be bought at local markets. These imports include meat, fish, tinned food products, tea, sugar, wheat flour for baking bread, beads, matches, plastic containers, kerosene, pots and enamel dishes. People also depend on buying local products, including pottery, iron tools and various wooden implements. Through being dependent on market goods, local people are vulnerable to price fluctuations, the causes and control of which are quite removed from their immediate social environments.

The main cash crops before 1980 were cocoa, coffee and palm trees. The purchasing and marketing of these cash crops is now the responsibility of the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board (GCMB). Cocoa trees naturally take five to seven years to yield pods. Today, however, there are scientifically improved species which take two to three years to yield pods. The trees have a life span of about 30 years. These species are extensively used. Cocoa trees are security for cocoa farmers in their old age. Farmers continue to rehabilitate and expand their cocoa farms even when they are over 70 years old.

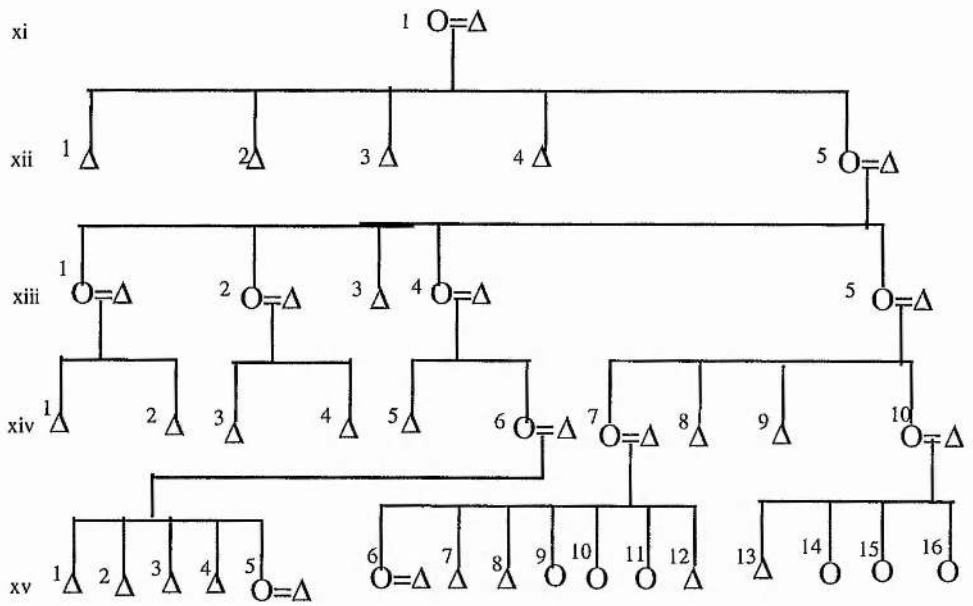
From a wide perspective, whilst ecological changes (decline in virgin forest, destruction of reserve land by fires) have caused radical economic hardship, lineages have continued to maintain their lineage farm estates as land still remains available to prominent lineage members. The lineage heads organise the maintenance and rehabilitation of the farms, drawing on financial support from other associates who have financial resources (for example migrants, businessmen or anyone with money).

It is an Asante tradition that, in a period when active resident members become old or a head of the sub-lineage passes away, there should always be a sub-lineage member resident at the natal home to farm the sub-lineage farm. This person should be familiar with farm boundaries to prevent any encroachment from outsiders.

CASE STUDY: KWAKU ASARE RETURNS TO FARMING

This case study focuses on the Adontenhene Aduana lineage of Domeabra and how in 1985 Kwaku Asare Afriyie, a sub-lineage head, was constrained to return to the sub-lineage lands to assume responsibility for its well being. Genealogy 4 depicts the relevant ancestors, leaders and actors.

GENEALOGY 4: ADONTENHENE ADUANA STOOL LINEAGE



The Adontenhene Aduana lineage historically played a major role in Domeabra-Owerriman chiefship[9]. In about 1900, Attah

(xii: 1) together with his twin brother, also named Attah (xii: 2), and two other brothers, Tawiah (xii: 3) and Aworo (xii: 4), acquired about 350 hectares of farm lands. Their matri-nephew, Yaw Effah (xiii: 3), also helped his uncles. They are today regarded as their founding forefathers of the lineage. They became elevated to wing-chiefs of Adontenhene Aduana Stool.

By 1960, the active farmers were the then Adontenhene, Yaw Effah (xiii: 3), and his two nephews, Kofi Ntiamoah (xiv: 5) and Kwabena Amo (xiv: 2). In order to secure self-acquired property, Adontenhene and Kofi Ntiamoah became migrant cocoa farmers at Sehwi in the Western Region of Ghana. Here each acquired land, appropriating some for the lineage and the rest for their personal patri-children.

After 1967, due to a decline in family cocoa production there was a need to rehabilitate the lineage's cocoa farms. Many lineage members, however, were not prepared to work hard. By 1970, Yaw Effah (who was now the head of the lineage) was 90 years old. Neither he nor his two nephews, Kofi Ntiamoah and Kwabena Amo, were able to rehabilitate their ageing cocoa farms. However, three other nephews received proceeds from lineage farms by right of corporate principles of land holding, despite the fact that they made very little attempt to participate in rehabilitating the farms under their nominal care. In short, the profits were not being spent on cocoa rehabilitation. The family suffered from labour shortages, which contributed to low productivity and the eventual abandonment of lineage lands.

Through matrilineal association the 'grandchildren', Nana Amoako-Attah (xv: 7) and Kwaku Asare Afriyie (xv: 1), and their respective uterine kin had rights to the lands of Adontenhene Aduana lineage. In 1983, Nana Amoako-Attah, then Adontenhene for Domeabra, felt he could no longer rely on his lineage head (abusua panin) (xiv: 8) and used his position as Chief to rehabilitate the ancestral lands of the lineage grandmother, Anyiwah (xi: 1). Kwaku Asare Afriyie (xv: 1), a sub-lineage head, likewise mobilised his uterine kin to rehabilitate their vast lineage farms for both food crop and cocoa.

Kwaku Asare Afriyie (xv: 1), who has a High National Certificate Diploma in mechanical engineering, is the oldest of four siblings and is the heir to Adontenhene Stool. From 1968 to 1972, he worked at Tema Harbour as a mechanical engineer. His father and mother were joint sales agents for the Ghana National Trading Company at Kyiraa in Brong-Ahafo Region. During school holidays, they were assisted by two other sons and a daughter who were by then at primary and secondary school. In 1973, Kwaku Asare Afriyie's father died and Kwaku Asare Afriyie was recalled by his mother to take over the management of the retail shop. In 1983, due to shortages of essential commodities, Kwaku Asare Afriyie's first junior brother (xv: 2) left for Canada. His second junior brother (xv: 4) had completed a BSc in engineering at the University of Science and Technology, Kumase. He has since been employed by Volta River Authority as an electrical engineer. Their junior sister (xv: 5) was also married to a very successful trader in Accra.

In 1984, when Kwaku Asare Afriyie was a GNTC storekeeper, the economic crisis affected his business to the extent that there were shortages of essential commodities. Many people could not afford to buy goods. The shop with which he and his mother, brothers and sister were involved was no longer economically viable, and indeed his siblings were no longer active in running it. So the uterine brothers and sister decided that their senior brother, Kwaku Asare Afriyie, should retire to Domeabra to farm. They were prepared to send him remittances to finance the labour and other input costs.

In 1993/94 I met Kwaku Asare Afriyie at Domeabra. He was by then the chairman of the Domeabra Plot Allocation Committee and Area Council Chairman[10]. He was also the chairman of the local branch of the National Union of Farmers. He was known for his hard work and for his liberal approach to improved techniques in food crop farming. He had his own pumping machine which improved simple irrigation techniques for watering his crops during the dry season. In an interview I asked him about his change of occupation to farming:

Baafour: "Kwaku, why did you change from mechanical engineering work to (retail) shop-keeping and finally farming?"

Kwaku Asare Afriyie: "Yes, well, you will be aware that when I was young I spent my elementary school days with my grandparents at Domeabra. That was until 1962. In 1963 I continued my education at Kumase Polytechnic. I lived with my maternal relatives. Both my grandmothers, grandfather and

maternal uncles were very hard working. I learnt about how our ancestors and grandparents increased the land holdings of the lineage. Today, however, there are growing number of parasitic consumers[11] working in the name of the lineage. I myself believe that as a member of a matrilineal family I have no option but to co-operate with the Adontenhene in organising labour of our generation and using lineage land for the economic good of Aduana lineage and the security of my wife and children. Our ancestral lands will also be saved."

Baafour: "What do you find most difficult in returning to agriculture?"

Kwaku Asare Afriyie: "Because of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the subsequent withdrawal of subsidies, there are greater agricultural input costs resulting in less profit. Farmers themselves now have to meet high input costs which, in the long run, denies them the possibility to diversify their interests. I want to practice poultry farming which would be solely for my patri-family (my wife and children). I have asked my sister and her husband to give me about 4 million cedis to support the venture. They have promised to help but there has been a delay in giving me the money which has caused me great worry. The remittances from my brothers, one in Canada and the other an engineer in Ghana, are not enough to meet the cost of rehabilitating the cocoa farm. They have their own economic difficulties and face demands from other members of the family. Yet my contribution will help to maintain our ancestral lands[12] for our sisters' children."

In grand terms, Kwaku Asare Afriyie proposes that benefits are for his matri-family. He invokes historical legitimacy of the matrilineage in talking about himself. This is an example of a lineage member talking about the rights of matrilineal associates and the limits of patri-family rights in using lineage land.

CASE STUDY OF A LIFE TIME COCOA FARMER: YAW NTEM

Yaw Ntem inherited his lineage farms in the mid-1960s. After leaving school in 1962, Yaw Ntem stayed at his farm cottage and engaged in cocoa farming. For 31 years he managed cocoa farms. Working all these years as a cocoa farmer, Yaw often was not eligible for state benefits such as medical care nor was he in a position to receive a bank loan. This was in contrast to his contemporaries working in the government service who were entitled to state remunerations. Had Yaw Ntem the capital he would have diversified his economic activities by buying livestock in addition to practising food and cocoa farming.

Since initiating cultivation in 1962, Yaw Ntem's cocoa farms have expanded each year. His family labour was not enough to maintain his farm which required weeding twice a year and spraying. He could not afford to hire wage labourers to perform this work. His cocoa output, which at one time reached 125 loads, was reduced to around 50 loads in 1983, and reduced still further in the 1993/94 season, when it was 35 loads. (One load of cocoa equals 20 kilos). The government increased the payment for a load of cocoa in 1993/94 season to 19,000 cedis, twice the payment of the previous year. In

1994/95 season, the payment for a load was increased still further to 40,000 cedis. It was not the increases alone that encouraged cocoa farmers to continue rehabilitation but also their interests in protecting the ancestral lands from encroachment. Ancestral land has lineage significance and is talked about in terms of keeping lineage members together. Land is still considered valuable and will continue to give security to the lineage members. As the head of this family it is Yaw Ntem's responsibility to maintain the ancestral land.

Yaw Ntem, as sub-lineage head, supports his wife and children and also supports his sister's children in junior and senior secondary schools[13]. Even though he receives remittances from his junior brother (resident in London), inflation and continued devaluation of the cedi has meant that the remittances received from the brother are insufficient to cover family expenditure and high agricultural input costs.

According to Ntem, the 1989 withdrawal of input subsidies has led to a lack of funds to purchase spraying machines and chemicals (such as DDT). He has personal experience of being an agricultural extension labourer. Before 1983, the Ministry of Agriculture supplied farmers in Domeabra-Owerriman area with six spraying machines. The ministry maintained the spraying machines and paid for the cost of repairs. This has not been the case since the introduction of SAP. Yaw Ntem's own machine has not been in use since 1994. Despite different attempts to rehabilitate

the farms, lack of spraying has remained a debilitating factor.

7 (vi) RECENT TRENDS

After 1983, Domeabra-Owerriman people were constrained to adopt flexible and diversified means of earning their livings (Table 5). Thus urban returnees and returnees from Nigeria, whom I term the 'New Farmers', departed from traditional choices by emphasising food crop farming, small-scale livestock investments in cattle, sheep and goats and poultry farming. Cash is also obtained through local people (both men and women) in weeding and sharecropping, the local resale of commodities (e.g. household provisions) and mass labour migration. In recent years, many young people between 20 and 30 years of age spend long periods in Europe and North America. The monthly or quarterly remittances they send to their relatives, are drains on the migrants' income since migrants have to pay taxes in the host countries. Some men in Ghana also earn extra cash through hunting and trapping of wild animals. Others receive some money from rearing small-scale livestock (sheep and goats). Women also fish in the rivers during the dry season. Most of the fish and meat caught is for domestic consumption, with a small percentage for sale. These activities have their greatest importance between May and July when farming activities are relaxed. Others are engaged in craft work, weaving, processing of palm oil and palm kernel and the use of by-products for making soap. These activities can be quite profitable and are

usually dominated by women. Some men remain professional palm wine tappers and local gin distillers.

Whilst many young people continue to emigrate, others work on local housing projects. A few others are employed by the local Owerriman College[14]. The young women fetch water which they sell to some households or housing projects (i.e. new houses being built by the migrants). There are a few 'chop bars'[15] where locally-prepared food is sold. In Ghana households often constitute 2 to 4 nuclear family units. Households normally eat together and share the costs of food. Due to a variety of contributions, individuals can be supported when they are without money but they will be expected to make a subsequent return when they are able. It is common that when a man cannot provide sufficient money for three meals he advises his wife and children to prepare breakfast for themselves. He buys his breakfast from chop bars as it is cheaper[16].

A number of farmers who are less open or able to change persist in rehabilitating their cocoa. Being involved in the Ghana mono-crop cocoa economy, they are (unlike the producers of food crops) under international price controls. The prices of cocoa are fixed by administrative and corporate bodies well removed from local producers. Shifts in world cocoa prices could and did produce devastating effects for the local community.

The GCMB (Purchasing unit) has a network of cocoa purchasing centres in at least every town or village in the cocoa growing area. The have purchasing officers supported by a selected group of cocoa farmers. Each farmer has a

purchasing cash book which the purchasing officer enters the amount of load of cocoa he buys from the farmer. The farmer submits this cash book to the Rural Bank. The Bank credits the purchases into his accounts. The purchasing of cocoa and the producer price are under the GCMB monopoly (see Chapter 4).

7 (vii) DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN HOUSEHOLD SURVEYS AND CASE STUDIES

In the remainder of this chapter, I shall draw on detailed material from Domeabra-Owerriman households in order to exemplify, and elaborate further, upon the discussion so far. The data is based on 200 Domeabra-Owerriman households chosen by random sampling during my 1982-83 fieldwork and subsequently followed up in my trips of 1993-94 and 1995. Over this period there have, of course, been numerous changes in household heads, either because of death or old age, and household composition; but these changes are themselves instructive (for example, as an indicator of population migration out of rural areas, whereby many young people have emigrated to urban towns such as Accra, Tema and Kumase, whilst others have joined kinsmen overseas). I have known most of the households since my boyhood and am very familiar with their genealogies.

The data I shall be using consists largely of self-administered questionnaire returns submitted by 55 household heads from the 200 households, plus selected semi-structured interviews from this global sample. In addition, I shall round out the account with reference to case studies of

individuals in the Domeabra-Owerriman area whom I know particularly well.

For the purpose of this discussion, "adult" shall be taken to mean men aged 25 and over and women aged 18 and over. These ages correspond to the average age of marriage in Ghana[17]. As soon as a couple marry, they start work as an independent economic unit. They start their own farm but, whenever they need economic support, often the man's father, senior brothers or matri-uncle will help. The majority of migrants work in Europe, North America and other African states. There have been marked changes in housing with the rise of migrancy. New private bungalows, if not used by the migrant's matri-family, are rented to employees such as teachers and agricultural extension officers (see Chapter 8). This category of tenants live as, on the whole, nuclear families. On the other hand, family households are normally avunculocal whereby a woman, her brothers and their wives and the central woman's sons and brothers' wives live together.

7 (viii) RICH AND POOR: FLUCTUATING FORTUNES AND COCOA FARMING

Between 1960 and 1990, Domeabra-Owerriman farmers have experienced a roller-coaster of economic fortunes. Rich cocoa farmers of the 1960s, who have subsequently failed to diversify their mono-crop economy or who have been unable latterly to rehabilitate their cocoa trees, have experienced notable declines, whilst others, especially 'returnees' have fared much better. This section tells this story.

With regard to economic decline, no better example is available than the case of my father, Nana Yaw Kwabiah-

Asimpah who, in 1960, had 80 hectares of land which gave 1500 loads of cocoa (one load = 20 kilos), yielding a cash income of £4500 per annum. Immediately after 1960 this was down to a still more than satisfactory yield of around 900 loads per annum. This was a time when matrilineal estates enjoyed great integrity. Men, women and children all contributed labour towards the acquisition of land and wealth for these estates; nephews were expected to contribute labour to their mother's brother's landed enterprises, expecting eventually to succeed their uncles according to matrilineal principles. However, in 1982, Nana Yaw Kwabiah's heir, his sister's daughter's son (Kwabena Kwabiah), secured only 50 loads from the estate (this output was valued at around £350), because the cocoa trees were old and some were infected by diseases. The bush fires of 1983 brought this estate's output to an all-time low of 20 loads - which, compared with the fortunes of many other farmers, was at least a meaningful output.

This slump is illustrated in the figures presented in , which is based on 30 cocoa farmers of the period around 1950-60. These farmers were those people informants (during the 1982-83 fieldwork season) considered to be 'original rich cocoa farmers' and founders of the major Pranum matrilineal cocoa estates. Their heirs, present in my 1982-3 fieldwork sample, were likewise considered 'rich cocoa farmers', on the basis of harvesting a minimum of 20 loads in the 1981-2 seasons.

Many factors, by no means all ecological, combined to contribute to this slump in cocoa fortunes. Firstly, disputes between sub-lineage groups about inheritance (for example

matri-families contesting inheritance by a patri-son) left some families with huge legal debts which prompted them to mortgage family cocoa farms (see inheritance and disputes, Kwabiah, 1988).

A second difficulty was that some original cocoa farmers' sole investment was in cocoa farming. They paid little or no attention to the higher education of their children and matri-children. Subsequently, the heirs did not have any other source of income in order to rehabilitate the family cocoa farms. In 1957, when my brother and I and a matri-brother gained admission into Prempeh College, our matri-brother lost his father. Our matri-brother's only educated uncle appealed to his brothers who were, by then, rich cocoa farmers to finance our matri-brother's secondary education. However, the brothers told him that they were prepared to help their nephew only if he was prepared to farm Moreover, in this family no remittances were available for the rehabilitation of cocoa farms. Large stretches of land previously acquired by our uncles' generation were not being used for cocoa rehabilitation or for any other economic venture. The family have lost their lineage cocoa farms and the production capacity of the family is low.

TABLE 6: ORIGINAL COCOA FARMERS AND THEIR HEIRS

	Name of farmer	Land used for cocoa (ha)	1950-1960 average annual yield (load)	Heir	1981/82 Yield (loads)	1982/3 Yield (loads)	Principal occupation of heir
1	Nana Yaw Kwabiah Asimpah	80	1500	Kofi Kwabiah	50	20	Farmer
2	Op. Kwasi Ahin	60	800	Kofi Agyei	80	30	Driver & Farmer
3	Op. Kofi Nyame Agyarko	40	750	Inspector Agyarko	60	20	Police & Farmer
4	Kwabena Agyei and Kwakye	50	800	Kwasi Opuni	100	20	Trader
5	Yaw Omane-Mensah	40	700	Kwadwo Oduro	80	20	Farmer
6	Nana Kwasi Amoantwi	60	870	Kofi Amoako	30	20	Seaman & Farmer
7	Kofi Baafi	30	150	Kofi Baafi	30	20	Farmer
8	Yaw Opuni	60	750	Kofi Baafi	50	30	Farmer
9	Kwadwo Siaw	60	750	Denis Asare	40	25	Police & Farmer
10	Kwabena Akuamoa	20	300	Denis Asare	40	15	Police & Farmer
11	Kwadwo Marfo	30	500	Kwadwo Owuo	20	10	Farmer
12	Yaw Effah	40	500	Kwame Kra	20	15	Farmer
13	Kwabena Amo	20	200	K. Amo	80	30	Farmer
14	Kwasi Agyei	23	500	Yaw Dwamena	70	30	Farmer
15	Kofi Antwi	23	500	Yaw Dwamena	60	25	Farmer
16	Yaw Dwamena	30	200	Yaw Dwamena	30	15	Farmer
17	Yaw Ofosu	40	750	Yaw Ofosu	30	30	Farmer
18	Kwaku Tanno/ Ofori-Mensah	40	750	Asare Tanno	30	30	Farmer & Auditor
19	Oheneba Kofi Puni	40	750	Ohene Gyan	20	10	Farmer & Driver

20	Obusi-Oheneba Opuni	60	750	Domeabra Stool	20	Abandoned	--
21	Gyase/ Kofi Opuni	60	800	Adom-Opuni	15	20	Farmer
22	Yaw Frimpon/ Abaamuwa	40	750	Yaw Kumah	30	10	Farmer
23	Kofi Asiedu	40	750	Adwoa Ampoma	40	15	Farmer
24	Yaw Gyasi/ Kwame Gyasi Yaw Owusu	80	1500	Yaw Owusu/ Kofi Attah	60	10	Farmer
25	Kofi Donko/ Kofi Asiama	30	500	Kofi Asiama	70	30	Farmer
26	Oheneba Kwabena Opuni	30	500	Attaah Frimpoma	20	10	Farmer
27	Kwame Opuni and Uncles	60	500	Kwame Opuni	40	30	Farmer
28	Yaw Effah	30	500	Yaw Ntem	40	30	Farmer & Agri. Ext. worker
29	Kwame Oduro Newman	50	700	Kofi Nimo	60	20	Farmer
30	Nana Ntiamoah /Duh/ Frimpong	60	800	Nana Ntiamoah	30	20	Farmer

SOURCE: Interviews and Farmers' Sales Books: 1950-60 annual average, and 1981/82 and 1982/83 cocoa seasons[18]. Every farmer keeps his or her own sales book. A bag of cocoa is equal to 2.5 loads. A load of cocoa is 20 kilos. Therefore a bag is 50 kilos.

Thirdly, young women from families who did not encourage their kinfolk to take education seriously often became dropouts and gave birth to illegitimate children[19]. Often such children become problems for the sub-lineage heirs and their uncles. In particular, despite being semi-educated, they were not prepared to give labour to the family heads. They are

concerned with finding immediate economic resources like petty trading and often tied to their farmers in subsistence food crop farming. Moreover those who migrated to urban centres to find unskilled labour did not receive high enough wages to send remittances home for the rehabilitation of the family cocoa farms.

Finally, some families had no male brothers, with the result that sub-lineage management was very poor. For example, Nana Yaw Kwabiah and his two senior brothers had a sister, Afua Durowa, who had three daughters and no sons. As these three sisters had no sibling brother, not one of their three uncles' cocoa farms nor their ancestral farms were rehabilitated and the sub-lineage lost considerable wealth (see Table 6, line 1). The reasons for this are simple. When a house is dominated by a woman, relatives give relatively less support. Women are considered to be more concerned for their own children whereas male heads are considered to act in the economic interests of everyone. This seems to be confirmed in Table 7, referring to the 1990s, where majority opinion (70.9% of respondents against 29.1%) states that men receive more support and assistance than women. One notes, however, that for Asante market-women, who are economically successful in their own right, such opinion is basically irrelevant.

Some Domeabra-Owerriman households, however, notwithstanding the dire days of the early 1980s, have been able to some degree to reverse their fortunes, both as cocoa farmers and as participants in other sectors of the local economy. Hence several of the cocoa farm heirs of 1982-3

included in Table 6, have featured already (in Table 5) as receiving respectable cash incomes in the 1990s. What are the economic and social reasons behind these households' relative economic recovery?

TABLE 7: PERCEPTIONS OF ASSISTANTSHIP RELATING TO THE SUPPORT OF MALE AND FEMALE FARMERS

OPINIONS	ABSOLUTE (PERCENTAGE)		
	Category A Respondents	Category B Respondents	Total
Men secure more support than women	17 (60.7)	22 (81.5)	39
Women secure more support than men	11 (39.3)	5 (18.5)	16
Total	28 (100)	27 (100)	55 (100)

Category A - Respondents who are not matrilineally closely related to any other respondent.

Category B - Respondents who are matrilineally closely related (i.e. members of same sublineage) to one or more other respondents.

Diversification of the cash economy is a major factor here. The first evidence of this is evident in Table 6 where, even in the early 1980s, several heirs may be seen as being involved in a variety of money-making activities on top of cocoa production. By the 1990s, as has been intimated earlier, such diversification had developed much further.

Patient and determined rehabilitation of cocoa farms certainly paid dividends for some households, particularly those which could command the support of migrant workers. Such households, having the requisite labour, were in a position to take advantage of the rehabilitation schemes

which the government sponsored, in 1972, on the back of a World Bank loan. This was the case, for example, with the household of my uncle, Kofi Baafi (Table 6, line 8), Yaw Opuni's heir (and younger brother), who even today, when he is close to ninety years old, continues to rehabilitate cocoa farms to the benefit of his nephews and nieces. He has achieved this on his own initiative and more recently (from 1976) has benefited from the rehabilitation scheme being improved, for example, by the farmers involved in the scheme being offered government-sponsored labour and higher production prices.

Others took employment outside the farming sector, thereby supplementing their farming incomes. For example, Denis Asare (Table 6, lines 9 and 10) inherited family lands from his uncle, Akuamoah, and his grandfather, Kofi Siaw. During the 1983 bush fire period, when he lost the bulk of his cocoa income, Denis worked as a policeman, which did not in itself provide sufficient income to care for his wife and two children. His extra income from cocoa was enough to allow him to support them and two nephews as well.

Another major strategy is evident among households which did, unlike the majority, invest in the education of their children. The latter, having worked in and retired from government service, were particularly well placed to take advantage of the government rehabilitation scheme upon returning to their matrilineal farms. They were also to engage in general diversification, including both food crop sale and livestock farming. The consequence of this diversification is evident, in the 1992-3 figures, in Table

5. The 1960s cocoa farmers who followed the 'education strategy' were mostly those who had invested proceeds from the 1960s cocoa boom into rental housing in urban centres, into retail stores and other forms of trading, into the transportation sector, and not least into new cocoa farms in other regions. The educated elites in rural areas, controlling their birth rate and having a preferences for monogamy, are nowadays notably effective in the management of the farms. Because they could control their expenditure within a limited members of a nuclear family.

Finally, matrilineal solidarity[20] has made an important difference to the recovery of farmers' fortunes, and the overall success of one's sub-lineage can make considerable difference, one way or another, to one's economic security. We have seen already how well-off members who have worked in government service will commonly reinvest in the rural areas associated with their respective matrilineages. Equally, pensioners will use pension money to do the same. However, there are limits. Yaw Dwamena (Table 6, lines 14-16), who succeeded his uncle (Kofi Antwi) and his grandfather (Kwasi Agyei), needed support in his old age from his matri-family. He only had one uterine nephew, who worked as a police constable, to help him financially. His two sisters gave birth to many girls, none of whom became well-educated, and who were not be expected to be involved in acquiring cocoa farms. This was because a woman's duty was believed to be to help the husband with his cocoa farm (Okali, 1983: 56) and otherwise be concerned with food crops. Yaw Dwamena's family,

dependent on what little cocoa it had, fell rapidly into economic demise.

Looking at the trends discussed in this section from the perspective of the 1990s, the fundamental trend over the last thirty years is evidently that the original rich cocoa farmers and their immediate heirs have to a large degree been displaced as wealthy farmers by those who had social connections with urban returnees and non-Ghanaian immigrants. Many old impoverished cocoa farmers thus recovered their fortunes by relinquishing lands to matrilineal returnees (who would give money in return) or leasing it on a sharecropping basis to the immigrants. In general, farmers now (in 1990s) over 65 years of age have not diversified their economies (Table 8).

TABLE 8: AGE/PROFESSION AND FARMERS CHOICES
These have been established on the basis of information presented in Table 5.

NO	STATUS	AGE	CASH CROPS	FOOD CROPS	LIVESTOCK
1.	Pn	63	X	X	X
2.		57	X	X	-
3.		61	X	X	-
4.	Pn	60	X	X	X
5.	Th	68	X	X	-
6.		83	X	-	-
7.	Th	50	X	X	X
8.	Th	67	X	X	-
9.	Pn	66	X	X	X
10.		68	X	X	-
11.		65	X	X	-
12.		42	-	X	-
13.	Pn	67	X	X	-
14.		75	X	X	-
15.		60	X	X	-
16.	Th	60	X	X	X
17.	Th	51	X	X	-
18.	Th	60	X	X	-
19.		56	X	X	-
20.		75	X	X	-
21.	Th	48	X	X	-
22.		70	X	X	-
23.		79	X	X	-
24.	F	60	X	X	-
25.	F	74	X	X	-
26.		65	X	X	-
27.		85	X	-	-
28.		85	X	X	-
29.		82	X	-	-
30.		68	X	-	-
31.		48	X	X	-
32.	F	54	X	X	-
33.		49	X	X	-
34.	F	69	X	X	-
35.	F	72	X	X	-
36.		65	X	-	-
37.		85	X	-	-
38.	F	68	X	X	-
39.		46	X	X	X
40.		58	X	X	-
41.		48	X	X	-
42.		68	X	X	-
43.		56	X	X	-
44.		72	X	X	-
45.		40	-	X	-
46.		75	X	X	-
47.		38	-	X	-
48.		65	-	X	-
49.		80	X	X	-
50.		83	X	X	-
51.	F	75	X	-	-
52.		67	X	X	-
53.		58	X	X	-
54.	F	70	X	X	-
55.		75	X	-	-
56.		65	X	X	-
57.		69	X	X	X

STATUS: Pn = Pensioner; Th = Teacher/Tutor/Retired; F = female

ASSUMPTION AND ABANDONMENT OF COCOA FARMING: A HISTORICAL VIEW

The vicissitudes of the Domeabra-Owerriman economy over the past decades are also revealed by the ages at which farmers took up and dropped cocoa farming, or alternatively began to engage in non-cocoa cash-crop farming. Table 9 divides questionnaire respondents into age categories, and details when each individual began to be involved in cocoa production.

TABLE 9: AGE OF COMMENCING COCOA FARMING

AGE WHEN INVOLVEMENT IN COCOA FARMING STARTED								
CURRENT AGE (1993)	ABSOLUTE (Percentage)							
	Under 10 years	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51+	Total
28-37	3 (42.8)	3 (42.8)	-	-	-	-	-	6 (10.9)
38-47	2 (28.6)	1 (14.3)	3 (42.8)	1 (20)	-	-	-	7 (12.7)
48-57	2 (28.6)	1 (14.3)	1 (14.3)	-	2 (15.4)	-	-	6 (10.9)
58-67	-	2 (28.6)	2 (28.6)	3 (60.0)	6 (46.2)	1 (14.3)	-	14 (25.5)
68-77	-	-	1 (14.3)	1 (20.0)	4 (30.7)	3 (42.8)	5 (55.6)	14 (25.5)
78+	-	-	-	-	1 (7.7)	3 (42.8)	4 (44.4)	8 (14.5)
TOTAL	7 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	55 (100.0)

The patterns are interesting. Elder farmers (aged 58 or more) mostly began cocoa farming as young adults, whilst younger and middle aged farmers commenced cocoa farming at a very young age alongside their parents. I also note that, among farmers in the youngest category, hardly anyone began cocoa farming as adults in their own right. The reason for these patterns revolves around the middle category: young to middle-aged farmers. These farmers were born after 1936, and so, as young school-leavers, they experienced the cocoa boom,

a time when labour was at a premium. They could fulfil this need by assisting their parents. Meanwhile their parents' generation, commencing cocoa production before the boom years, were not constrained to labour on cocoa farms during their childhoods, and could wait until starting their own families before getting involved. As for the present younger generation of farmers, I note that many of them became involved at quite a young age - again, as their parents' helpers - but few took up cocoa-farming in their mature adulthood. This was because these people, having secured their educations, left Domeabra-Owerriman during young adulthood, destined for Accra and employment in the big city. Those who returned (whom this questionnaire reports), now that they were mature adults, desisted from getting re-involved in problematic cocoa farming. As returnees, they preferred to grow and sell food crops in order to secure a cash income.

7 (ix) PALM PRODUCTS

Palm fruits are used to make palm oil, palm soups, stews and sauces. Women use the fleshy thick skin around the nut to prepare palm oil. Palm oil, which is naturally red, is sold in bottles for varying prices, particularly in the case of palm oil from indigenous species of trees which yield inconsistent amounts of oil. In 1993 a bottle of palm oil was sold at, on average, 500 cedis. Profit on this venture depends upon the cost of the fruit (in July and August, [the peak production season for palm oil] farmers will supplement their enterprise by purchasing additional fruit from the

market) and the selling price in a production area. Some men sell their palm trees to palm wine tappers who make money from palm wine sales.

A husband and wife generally work together in producing palm oil but it is customary that men make the important financial decisions, i.e. they run the business and are expected to allocate the profits between their wives and children. Palm trees on unused lands of a sub-lineage are reserved for the old women who engage their daughters to perform the extraction in return for shares of the proceeds from the sales. Divorced or single women buy palm nuts and engage in extraction with their children. Any revenue generated is usually used directly by the woman. Processing of palm oil is done during periods when there is little other farm work, generally at the weekend.

A different type of oil (palm kernel oil) is refined from the white substance within the nut. It has a very dark colour, (different from that of red palm oil) and it has a strong smell. The nuts are dried, the shell is removed and the white substance is milled. There are three milling machines at Domeabra. Before 1980, when cocoa production was still healthy, palm kernel oil was made by migrants from Northern Ghana. Today, some Asante women either sell their nuts to the migrant women or process their own palm kernel for domestic use.

The processing of palm kernel oil is labour intensive. The price of a bottle of refined palm kernel oil varies between 200 cedis and 250 cedis. The by-product of the palm kernel oil left over once the oil is extracted is a substance

which can be mixed with cocoa shells or plantain skin to make soap (kokodomma, amonkye). This is produced by cooking the mixture over fire; the dried product is made into (4-6 centimetre diameter) balls which sell at 10 cedis each.

7 (x) POVERTY LINE AND HARD CORE POVERTY LINE

A delineation of poverty in Ghana was established by The Ghana Living Standard Survey, performed by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), in 1988. This distinguished two levels of poverty: firstly, a poverty line, set at an income of around C41,000 per capita per annum (i.e. £50 at the 1988 exchange rate); and secondly, a 'hard core' poverty line, set at C16,500 (i.e. £20). It is interesting to see where the bulk of Domeabra-Owerriman farmers, regarded as effective cocoa farmers (Table 5), stand on this scale.

By 1992-93, prompted by inflation, the GSS had reconsidered the income levels marking these two bands of poverty. Now the poverty line was set at C500,000, and the hard core poverty line was set at C100,000. Taking the per capita incomes received by the farmers recorded in Table 5, one can see that 89 percent of people (that is, everyone from families between lines 1 to 51) fall into the 'poverty' category, whilst the remaining 11 percent fall into category of hard core poverty (lines 52-57). However, from my interviews, these people contend that on an income of between C400,000 to C500,000, within the official margin of poverty, it is possible to lead a normal life. Part of the reason, of course, is that these people grow their own subsistence food. However, even people within the 'hard core' group are not

invariably in dire straits. Ghanaians by their nature during economic crises struggles to make an economic fortune. In most cases through diversification of agriculture. So SAP is putting pressure on everybody to increase productivity.

It is certainly the case that Domeabra-Owerriman people's annual monetary expenditure generally exceeds income. This is indicated in Tables 10 and 11 where, on the basis of questionnaire returns, I compute average household income against expenditures from local economic activity. Table 10 shows that the average income was C745,845, whilst Table 11 shows that average expenditure is C1,063,638. This indeed means that farming households experience difficulties, and quite often basic requirements such as clothing, decent meals, and education for children in secondary schools are beyond their reach. They may also avoid visiting hospitals. However there is an additional source of income which can make all the difference to all these people. This source is remittances sent to households from migrants working either in urban areas of Ghana or overseas, which can defray Domeabra-Owerriman people's debts. Such remittances can mean that even 'hard core' poverty people can manage to send their children to secondary school and even obtain surgical operations (which can cost anything up to 350,000 cedis). The main problem with these remittances is that they do not come regularly, and people may be forced to delay an expenditure until a remittance arrive.

TABLE 10: HOUSEHOLD MEAN ANNUAL INCOME

DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL INCOME (000 cedis)						
Number of people in household	ABSOLUTE (Percentage)					
	Under 500	501-700	701-900	901-1100	1101-1200	Total
3 - 5	- (-)	3 (25.0)	1 (14.3)	2 (12.5)	- (-)	6 (10.9)
6 - 8	4 (33.3)	4 (33.3)	4 (57.1)	3 (18.75)	3 (37.5)	18 (32.7)
9 - 11	5 (41.7)	2 (16.7)	1 (14.3)	4 (25.0)	- (-)	12 (21.8)
12 - 14	2 (16.7)	- (-)	- (-)	4 (25.0)	3 (37.5)	9 (16.4)
15 - 17	1 (8.3)	1 (8.3)	- (-)	3 (18.75)	1 (12.5)	6 (10.9)
18 - 20	- (-)	2 (16.7)	1 (14.3)	- (-)	1 (12.5)	4 (7.3)
CALCULATIO N OF MEAN	12 x 250 = 3000	12 x 600.5 = 7206	7 x 800.5 = 5603.5	16 x 1000.5 = 16008	8 x 1150.5 = 9204	55 41021.5

41021.5 ÷ 55 x 1000 = 745845 cedis mean annual income.

TABLE 11: HOUSEHOLD DAILY EXPENDITURE

HOUSEHOLD DAILY EXPENDITURE (000 cedis)	Frequency (f)	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage	Average daily expenditure (x)	fx
1000 - 1900	15	27.3	27.3	1,500	22,500
2100 - 3000	16	29.1	56.4	2,500	40,000
3100 - 4000	12	21.8	78.2	3,500	42,000
4100 - 5000	8	14.5	92.7	4,500	36,000
5100 - 6000	4	7.3	100.0	5,500	22,000
TOTAL	55	100.0	100.0	17,500	162,500

Average daily expenditure for households = $\underline{162.500}$ ÷ 55 = 2,955 cedis. Therefore average household's annual expenditure is (365 x 2,955) = 1,079,000 cedis (rounded to nearest 1000). This means an average annual deficit of 1,079,000 - 746,000 = 333,000 cedis

TABLE 12: THE IMPORTANCE OF MATRILINEAL SUPPORT

Value Label (Support importance)	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Cumulative Percentage**
Yes	52	94.6	94.6
No	2	3.6	98.2
Don't know	1	1.8	100.0
Total	55	100.0	

Source: questionnaire

TABLE 13: USEFULNESS OF MATRILINEAL SUPPORT

Value Label	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Not applicable	3	5.5	5.5
financial assistance	29	52.7	58.2
ensures unity among members	9	16.4	74.6
enhances tradition	7	12.7	87.3
financial support of young and aged	5	9.1	96.4
For affection and emotion	2	3.6	100.0
Total	55	100.0	

Source: questionnaire

Note: Patrilineal support is assumed to be relatively low.

People who send remittances are generally members of one's matrilineal family. The importance of family connections is shown in Tables 12 and 13, where people extol the usefulness of matrilineal connections both in general terms and specifically in terms of the assistance that matrilineal relatives can provide. Remittances are a very important component of such assistance. In short, people survive by drawing on family resources. People's relatives in far-off places provide vital economic security for school fees, church funds, loan repayments and many other things.

CASE ONE: ATTAH FRIMPONG

The personal circumstances of hard core poverty, which make such matrilineal connections so important, are illustrated by the case of Attah Frimpong, a retired agricultural officer whose retirement lump sum, thanks to SAP and the subsequent devaluation of the cedi, was now worth nothing. Attah Frimpong's wife, also now retired, worked as a sick porter with the Agricultural Extension Service but she now receives a monthly pension of 15,000 cedis. They have four children, one in senior secondary school, the next in a junior

secondary school, and the remaining two in primary school, and their total annual school expenditure amounts to 202,000 cedis. The wife sells local gin and they also practice food crop farming. The following table presents a breakdown of their annual expenditure and income (1993-94):

Annual income (in cedis)	
Official income (from state pension)	180,000
Proceeds from food crops	162,000
Profit from local gin sales	200,000
Total income	**542,000**

Annual expenditure (in cedis)	
Chop Money	720,000
Clothing	50,000
Soap and Pomade	24,000
School Expenses	202,000
Remittance to both parents	60,000
Social imposition (Church donation & funerals)	24,000
Total expenditure	**1,080,000**
ANNUAL DEFICIT	**538,000**

Only through kinsmen's remittances and temporary loans (e.g. from friends, a church) can Attah Frimpong's family make ends meet. Further, in 1993, Attah Frimpong needed a hernia operation costing him 120,000 cedis. This was made possible by his senior brother obtaining a loan for him and by various nephews and nieces overseas sending special remittances to defray their uncle's medical expenses.

In the context of the severe economic constraints which are the consequences of SAP, Domeabra-Owerriman residents must engage in a flexible range of strategies survive economically. The following five case studies illustrate this. The first two clearly show the matrilineal connections in rural areas can be vital for enabling returnees to make a living.

CASE TWO: ABENA AKYEAMPOMA

Abena Akyeampoma is a princess of Domeabra Stool. She is her mother's first born and she has four sisters and one brother. She was born in 1941 and was educated from 1948 to 1958 at Domeabra Presbyterian School from which she received the West African Examination Council middle school leaving certificate.

Immediately after completing middle school in June 1958, Abena Akyeampoma was employed by Ghana Builders Brigade at Jachie, a few miles from Kumase. After serving the Brigade for two years she married a young man from the Lake Bosomtwe District in Asante Region in 1961. She became a housewife, despite her experience as a salaried earner, since her marriage was important to her and, as an eldest daughter, the upbringing of the children was particularly important. Her husband, Opoku, worked as a store assistant.

Between 1962 to 1970, Abena and her husband had five children. Abena had to divorce her husband in 1970. After the divorce Abena returned to her natal home, Domeabra. She was, however, an economic burden to her ageing parents. As a single mother of five, her position was very difficult. She started dating a teacher from Domeabra Junior Secondary School. Abena could not be officially recognised as his wife because the teacher was already married. She had two children with him.

According to Abena, as her income was not enough to support her seven children, she decided to trade in foodstuffs but she had little capital. She decided to sell bananas from both her mother's and her father's family farm.

She then began to buy bananas from the local market and send them, every week, to Kumase central market where, women would rush to buy them. Within one year, she had managed to accumulate enough capital to make some investments in food farming. She started to hire extra farm labour to undertake local farming and also rehabilitated some of her family farms. She then gave up banana trading.

By 1986, her earlier four children had mostly completed basic education. The eldest son had completed middle form 4, whilst the second and third boys had completed secondary education. In 1990 the eldest son opened a private vocation centre, training girls and boys in sewing and dressmaking. The last two boys' school expenses were paid by their father.

Abena's main economic activities, then, are food crop farming, which she supplements, when in financial difficulty, with palm oil and palm kernel oil processing; she also makes local soap. Her children are an important source of labour in connection with these activities. Financial support from her eldest son is also crucial.

1993/94 Income (in cedis)	
Cocoa production - 20 loads (@ 19,000)	380,000
Food crops	300,000
Sale of 60 palm trees to palm wine tappers (@ 400)	24,000
Remittance from children	120,000
Total income	**824,000**

1993/94 Expenditure (in cedis)	
Chop money	360,000
Medical care	24,000
Social imposition	24,000
School expenses	300,000
Clothing	150,000
Total expenditure	**858,000**
DEFICIT	**34,000**

Abena Akyeampoma's annual deficit puts her palm oil processing and soap making into context. These activities are engaged in from time to time in order precisely to deal with the deficit.

CASE THREE: KWADWO ODURO

Kwadwo Oduro, popularly known as Teacher Oduro, is the brother of Abena Akyeampoma (Case 2). Oduro was staying in Kumase in the 1950s, working as a market's levy collector. In 1978, at the age of 50, he was recalled by the family to succeed his grandfather, Yaw Omane Mensah, as his uncle, Kwasi Opuni, had already inherited from two senior uncles. There were extensive family farms to manage. These elders were well-known in cocoa producing circles in the 1950s, but subsequently, the farms were struck by decreasing production as a result of pests, ageing cocoa trees and bad maintenance. In 1978, Kwadwo Oduro began a plan of cocoa rehabilitation. He rehabilitated 20.40 hectares land but the bush fires destroyed almost everything in 1983. During the 1982/83 harvest, his cocoa production was down to 47 loads (compared to 90 loads in 1981/82) - the 47 loads were gathered before the bush fires. After the 1983 bush fires he was only able to rehabilitate 7 hectares of land out of 20.4 hectares that was previously available. In the 1990s production had gone down still further, to 34 loads in 1993/94, yet despite substantial economic difficulties he was able to rehabilitate a further 12.24 hectares of his cocoa farm. In 1993/94, Kwadwo Oduro also planted food crops, including cassava and plantain (the plantain was reserved for home consumption).

Kwadwo Oduro has wife and looks after 3 nephews. As a heir to the matri-family estate he is obliged to help his sister who needs extra support.

1993/94 Income (in cedis):	
Cocoa Harvest, 34 loads (@ 19,000)	646,000
Cassava, 24 bags (@ 12,500)	300,000
Palm trees 250 trees (@400)	100,000
Total income	**1,046,000**

1993/94 expenditure (in cedis)	
Schools expenses (3 children)	263,000
Chop money 1000/day	360,000
Medical care	46,000
Social Imposition	48,000
Cost of annual farm labour	120,000
Total expenditure	**837,000**
SURPLUS	**209,000**

Kwadwo Oduro has done well to make profit but, as he told me he can only afford to spend on the most essential items. In an interview, I asked Kwadwo some questions relating to SAP.

Baafour: "How do you comment on the increased cost of labour, and increases in petrol prices and transportation?"

Kwadwo Oduro: "Yes, these are difficult times and the problems you mention are real ones. Not only this but the withdrawal of subsidies for school fees, health care, etc, has affected our lives detrimentally. Agricultural costs have risen as have prices for essential commodities. The cost of hiring labour has also been increased which has affected the maintenance of cocoa trees. Farmers have been forced to increase food crop prices which has had an adverse effect on low income urban dwellers. In effect it undermines the farmers' own position, as migrant labourers likewise have to pay higher prices for food. Farmers no longer have the means to offer incentives to farm labourers - such as the provision

of machetes, food, clothing, footwear etc. With low productivity, the increase in the producer price of cocoa has brought little real benefits in the form of capital accumulation to rehabilitate cocoa."

Baafour: "Do you have access to good banking facilities?"

Kwadwo Oduro: "Inflation is so high on limited bank loans. I applied for a 300,000 cedis bank loan to rehabilitate and maintain my farm. The bank however would only agree to give me a loan of 100,000 cedis. This amount does not even cover labour costs."

Baafour: "As a former city dweller, how do you find your present position as a rural farmer?"

Kwadwo Oduro: "Rural dwellers are faced with few alternatives and choices. I believe that if I had not returned to my rural natal home I would have been economically better off. But land is also money; it is best that family lands be maintained for future descendants of the lineage. As my matri-brothers have all taken on migration work, if I had not taken on responsibility for the family farm, then land would have been used by someone else and any subsequent or enduring rights lost."

Baafour: "What are the other sources of expenses which impose extra burdens on rural dwellers in contrast to urban dwellers?"

Kwadwo Oduro: "In rural areas, one is expected to contribute on a whole range of occasions, particularly as a lineage head. City dwellers are able to avoid some of these commitments."

Baafour: "Do city dwellers have a better chance of adapting to SAP than rural dwellers?"

Kwadwo Oduro: "In the city people are more involved in the informal economy[21] particularly buying and selling and other extra income activities. They have more opportunity of avoiding government organised trade." (Interview with Kwadwo Oduro, Domeabra, May 1994).

CASE FOUR: EMMANUEL KOFI OWUSU

Emmanuel Kofi Owusu left Domeabra at the age of 25 and settled at Ahafo-Ano where he started work as a drugstore keeper. There he married an 18-year-old girl, Akosua Adwobi, who is from an Akan family from Mpasaaso in Ahafo-Ano District. The proceeds of the store were not enough to maintain a family so he looked elsewhere for work and was employed as a Forest Ranger by the Forestry Division, Ministry of Agriculture.

Whilst Owusu was working at his job every day from 8.00 am - 4.00 pm, his wife kept the store. After work he would look after the store whilst his wife took care of household duties. They had their own food farm. He was sending money to his mother for her maintenance as well as paying the labour costs for the maintenance of the family cocoa farm. At the age of 50 he applied for voluntary retirement and received a pension.

Whilst employed as a forest ranger he did not stay in one place, and did not spend much time with his wife. He married two other women. The second wife was called Boatema and the third one Yaa. He had three children with Boatema at

Ada and two children with Yaa at Woraso. At present he is only married to his senior wife, Adwobi.

Kofi Owusu's only daughter from his first marriage, Susanna Owusu Boakyewa, completed Domeabra Presbyterian Middle School and, at the age of 18 married Kwaku Amo, a transport owner. They had four children but, due to a misunderstanding, she divorced him, and since then has remained single. At present, Owusu's household consists of himself, his wife, his senior daughter (Susanna) and her four children plus his five children from his other marriages.

Once Owusu had retired from being a Forest Ranger, he used his pension income to rehabilitate his mother's cocoa farm of about 8.0 hectares which the bush fire destroyed in 1983. He has two other sub-lineage cocoa farms of 12.1 hectares. His cocoa production in 1993/94 was 117 loads. He also has 12.15 hectares for food crop farming (mostly vegetables, such as okra, pepper, tomatoes, garden eggs and maize). This land was previously a cocoa farm which was destroyed by bush fires in 1983. He also has a 2.86 hectares cassava farm, a 1.67 hectares plantain farm and a yam/maize farm of 1.49 hectares.

Kofi Owusu's wife, Adwobi, and her daughter, Susanna, run a chop bar from their house. The chop bar sells their farm products - maize, plantain, cassava - which they have processed themselves. This is a better way of making profit from one's food crop than selling unprocessed produce directly in the market; moreover it obviates the problem of storing unprocessed food crops which are liable to decay. They also have a reasonably consistent market for food sales.

1993/94 income (in cedis):	
Cocoa, 117 loads (@ 19,000)	2,223,000
Palm trees, 200 trees (@ 400)	80,000
Poultry income	154,000
Okra - 90 baskets (@ 300)	27,000
Pepper - 90 basket (@ 300)	27,000
Garden eggs 90 basket (@1000)	90,000
Tomatoes - 120 boxes (@12,000)	1,440,000
Maize - 30 bags (@ 15,000)	450,000
Profit from sale of fish/meat	120,000
Profit from chop bar	720,000
Total income	**5,331,000**

1993/94 expenditure (in cedis)	
Children's education	270,000
Wife & daughter labour cost[22]	108,000
Food for family consumption (1,000 per day)	360,000
Cost of fertiliser	30,000
Clothing	100,000
Medical care	100,000
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	**968,000**
NET ANNUAL INCOME FOR THE YEAR	**4,363,000**

Owusu's nuclear family is the wealthiest in the area. They have become so by using their own farm proceeds which they have reinvested in the local market. They need to buy only essential commodities such as footwear, clothing and a few other specialised commodities. Through maintaining some measure of independence from the market, they are protected from price changes. Owusu continues to use his profits to rehabilitate his remaining lands and is completing a new house for his wife and nuclear family.

CASE FIVE: KWADWO MARFO MUSA

In the 1920s, Malam Salifu and his wife, Amina, (who were Fulani migrants from Burkina Faso [then Upper Volta]) came to Domeabra. He was a cattle farmer who, having settled in Domeabra, took up the life of cattle agent and butcher. Amina gave birth to two children, Kwadwo Marfo Musa and Afua Owusua. As the children grew older, both married and

established independent households. Although formally patrilineally organised, the Fulanis have been influenced by the Akan matrilineal practice of assisting nephews and nieces.

Malam came to Domeabra at a time when there was virgin forest. He acquired a few hectares of land for cocoa and kola plantation and food crop farming; he also cleared a small cocoa farm in unclaimed virgin forest. Following independence, the cattle trade declined and became uneconomical, so Malam's son, Musa, rented land for food crop farming - cassava, plantain and maize. Musa also has cocoa farms which he inherited from his father. However, cocoa production has been low due to ageing trees and pests as well as the 1983 bush fires and, in 1993/94, his cocoa output was a mere 12.5 loads, worth 237,000 cedis.

Diversifying his household economy in response to SAP Musa has turned to tomato farming. He is also engaged in the buying and selling of kola in Northern Ghana, the proceeds of which he uses to buy sheep and goats from further north. He rears them until they have produced offspring before selling them.

For the Fulani, Muslim marriage is appropriate. Musa married a Fulani girl, Asetu, when he was 25 years old and the girl 18 years. This marriage was arranged by their parents. When his sister, Afua, was 18 years old she likewise married a Fulani according to Muslim law. Musa had four children with his first wife before they were divorced. The problem Musa faces now is that these children, two sons and two daughters, have been influenced by Asante custom. Both

the daughters have refused customary Islamic marriage. They are both converts of the Seven Day Adventist Church. Through adopting Christianity, they have abandoned the Islamic culture first adopted by the Fulanis in 1100 AD. The strength of both modern western culture and Asante lifestyle have influenced their choice. Musa, their father, feels compromised. He told me: "My two daughters have Asante boyfriends and are not prepared to stick to our custom of Muslim marriage. If they do not, I will lose a great deal of respect in the Muslim community." This compounds Musa's economic problems. In a patrilineal society, Musa would have expected his daughters to give concrete economic support, particularly in the form of labour. However, having detached themselves from Fulani custom, the daughters were reluctant to give it, wishing to pursue instead their own personal economic ambitions.

CASE SIX: SALIFU MORO

Salifu Moro is a Mosi migrant living in Domeabra. He is 65 years old. He is married to a Mosi woman and has seven children. His two elder sons are married and live in Yeji, in Brong-Ahafo Region, and another son lives in Accra. The eldest daughter is married to a rice farmer at Yeji. Mosi custom is also patrilineal but, in contrast to Musa (Case 4), Salifu Moro remains in close touch with his adult children who continue to render him economic support. His second daughter was educated at Agogo State College (secondary school) and his youngest son was educated at Collins Commercial Secondary. His third and youngest daughter had

completed JSS at Domeabra but refused to further her education, choosing instead to study sewing at Domeabra.

Salifu Moro had come to Domeabra as a migrant cocoa farmer, but worked as a labourer in the 1950s and opted to be a cocoa caretaker in 1960. Now he rents 2.025 hectares of land for food crop farming under a sharecropping arrangement in which he gives the land owner one third of his produce of maize and yam, and sells the rest.

1993/94 income (in cedis)	
Maize	60,000
Yam	60,000
Kola nuts (6 bags @ 80,000)	480,000
Remittances	300,000
Total income	**900,000**

1993/94 expenditure (in cedis)	
Chop money	180,000
Clothing	50,000
Medical care	50,000
Schooling	300,000
Soap/pomade	14,000
Social imposition	24,000
Total expenditure	**618,000**
SURPLUS	**282,000**

In 1993/94, Salifu made a net saving of 282,000 cedis. Yet there were numerous unexpected expenses. Salifu's elder brother was admitted to Agogo hospital and all his savings was used to pay for his medical costs.

SUMMARY

In the mid-1950's, cocoa became the dominant crop in Pranum. Some of the people moved to the new lands in Brong-Ahafo, Sefwi, and Wassaw in the Western Region and others moved to other areas in Pranum. Through colonial administration, the

Asante people became more intensively bound up with capitalism in mining and timber industries. There was a need for money to acquire basic needs in life. The farmers were made dependent upon cash crop. Through the notion of usufruct rights, rich Asantes employed much labour and land acquired large cocoa farms. After the 1950s, the urban infrastructure became a pull of mass migration to towns. The 1969 Aliens Compliance Order caused extensive migration of cocoa farm labourers. The effect was a shortage of labour to maintain the ageing cocoa. Deterioration of the Ghana economy forced many young people to migrate. This mass migration worsened the already acute shortage of labour in cocoa-growing areas, as exemplified by Pranum District. Many urban returnees became active farmers in food crop farming and rehabilitation of sub-lineage cocoa farms. Through the examination of household data and case studies, this chapter has shown how the people in Domeabra-Owerriman have responded to the economic crisis of present-day Ghana. Cocoa farmers using matrilineal farm lands have adapted to these external pressures on household economy, ecological changes and environmental degradation. In particular, these changes, mediated by matriliny, forced the farmers to make new choices - shift from cocoa crops to what the new farmers term "real cash crops", by which they mean food crops whose prices the farmers themselves control in the market. However one thing is abundantly clear. Notwithstanding Domeabra-Owerriman farmers' best efforts to deal with external constraints by diversifying the local economy, survival in the 1990s depends above all on remittances supplied by matrilineal relatives,

both those living in urban areas and those living overseas. The life of these migrants is the subject of the next chapter.

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1 Reserved farming lands are effectively left fallow.

2 In British West Africa, the currency was pounds and shillings. In 1961 when Ghana became a Republic, the cedi currency was introduced.

3 The colonial administration brought in many migrants from Greater India to provide labour, particularly in rail construction, in most of its territories in Africa.

4 The 1950s was a period where there was opportunity for all and not just for the very few. Ghana gained self-government in 1951 and independence in 1957. People became mobile as Ghanaians. Cocoa farmers in Akan regions in particular migrated to Brong-Ahafo, Sefwi and Wassaw in the Western Region. The government policy of Africanisation and new opportunities in trade and other businesses created needs for educated Africans - and this need was supplied by free, compulsory education. Many who had education were gradually filling the positions of British expatriates. However, the ex-service men who returned from the second world war were forced into cocoa industry as there were not enough jobs for them in the government sector. In fact, the uneducated Asantes' main opportunity was cocoa farming and the education of their children. During the campaign

for independence, the Asante sentiment was "to acquire any wealth you must have cocoa".

5 Family labour refers to the employment of wives, children and matri-children (junior brothers, nephews and nieces) without any binding wage payment.

6 Wage labour refers to permanent employment outside indigenous agriculture cocoa farming. However, wage labour includes employment by the government in certain government-sponsored agricultural projects.

7 However, one might also say that small-scale farmers, because they invest their own labour in the enterprise and draw on the farm for subsistence, are relatively advantaged.

8 Some food crops originated from other continents. Yam, cocoyam, plantain, red pepper, and beans are indigenous to Africa; cassava, maize, tomatoes, watermelons originated in South America; rice, okra and ginger are from Asia, and onions are from the Mediterranean area.

9 The Adontenhene Stool is an Aduana lineage Stool. During the Asante wars (1850-1900), the Adonten wing-chief (Adontenhene) commanded a fearful militia as Domeabra's main bodyguard. The Domeabra Stool's war god, Tanno, was in the care of Adonten Stool. Whatever booty or prisoners of war Domeabra Stool secured was shared between Domeabrahene and Tanno deity, i.e. the

Adontenhene Stool. Thanks to many domestic slaves and war captives, Adonten Aduana lineage was able, to establish active cocoa farming at their village (Tweapease). These captives were integrated into the Adonten Aduana lineage. The quarter in Domeabra where Adonten Aduana people stay is called Tannoso. From 1900 to 1960 the elders of this lineage had a reputation as hard working cocoa farmers, mobilising resources to contribute to the prestige of Domeabra Stool.

10 When education was introduced by missionaries in the 1850s, the strict discipline in the missionary schools coupled with the caning of pupils was a hindrance. Thus most royal families instead sent their domestic slaves to school. Another factor was that the Asante people rejected foreign education because of its cultural imperialism and because products from such missionary schools as Bompata Basel (Presbyterian) Missionary school were subverting the authority of the local administration. A third factor was that the British colonial administration educated some of the (patrilineal) princes of the King and Paramount Chiefs with the hope that they would one day inherit their respective fathers' thrones but Asante was, and still, is a matrilineal society. The prince who succeeds will be from another royal division. However, after 1950, royal birth was not enough to qualify to contest a Stool in modern Ghana and royals were compelled to send their lineage members to schools and colleges. Events during

the 1990s have shown that lineages with well educated members have been able to respond more successfully to economic difficulties and the rehabilitation of cocoa. The educated elite have also been contributing effectively towards rural administration.

11 'Parasitic consumers' refers to non-productive lineage members who only reap the proceeds of cocoa farms under their care. They are therefore considered as parasites, at the same time as the proceeds allow them to be consumers.

12 According to Busia, ancestors are the custodians of the laws and customs of Asante and violation of this tradition could be punished with misfortune or bad omen (Busia, 1951: 68).

13 Under the new Ghana education system (post-1986), these have replaced the former post-primary and secondary schools respectively.

14 Owerriman College is the local government senior secondary school for which Owerriman Area Council Junior Secondary Schools are feeders. I was the founder and director of this college.

15 Chop bars are basically indigenous restaurants. Here local food is prepared for sale. Food served here is cheaper than hotel restaurants.

16 Chop bar breakfasts consist of sauce or soup prepared for mass sale. The cost depends on the amount of meat extracted from the container along with the soup. This means that irrespective of the proportion of soup and meat, or sauce and meat, the taste, which the soup imparts, is the same. So one can avoid buying much meat and yet enjoy the same taste. Such bulk preparation makes chop bar sauce or soup delicious to the taste of all customers. In contrast, in the case of food prepared at home, one has to buy the meat in proper quantity to satisfy the family's taste. Thus one can economise by buying sauce or soup (with small quantity of meat) at chop bars.

17 If anyone attempts to marry when they have not reached these ages they are advised 'you are too young to marry'.

18 Each cash crop farmer (including cocoa farmers) has a purchasing book. Thus the book lists cocoa production per annum. To check that production is properly recorded, it is counter-checked by the farmer's kinsmen. From 1950 to 1960, district co-operative societies such as the Pranum Co-operative Society, together with Secretary-Receivers, recorded purchasing administration. The farmers' sales books are their 'bank books', and were the responsibility of the Local Co-operative Council since every year the farmers received production bonuses. Moreover, every farmer was asked to pay a

surcharge on each load to support local development projects such as schools, post offices, clinics, the Chief's palace, etc. This was a form of implicit taxation imposed by the local Town Development Committee.

19 When a woman has children with a man to whom she is not customarily married, her family refuses to recognise the man as a husband. By customary law the children are illegitimate. The children are in most cases supported by the matri-family. In the absence of customary marriage rites, unless civil action is taken within the state court system, the man can refuse to look after the children.

20 Matrilineal solidarity implies considerable economic and other burdens, especially for the well-off. In his capacity as matri-kinsman, senior brother or maternal uncle, an Akan man has considerable responsibilities for the maintenance and training of the dependent women and children under his care. The latter include his mother (own and classificatory) and sisters (full and classificatory), younger brothers and uterine nephews and nieces. On top of this, as a husband, he has wives to maintain and, in addition, he has an important part to play in the technical and moral training of his own children, and in providing them with the assets needed. for the transition to responsible adulthood even though, as a general rule, he is unable to pass on to them his

own rank, office and property (Oppong 1974: 33-34). For discussions of paternal responsibility, see Danquah (1927:188-189, 191; Busia (1954: 196-199); Christensen (1954: 95); Fortes (1970a: 203); cf. Fortune (1932: 13-14).

21 In urban Ghana people of all social categories undertake extra economic activities apart from their formal or official work. For example, a university lecturer may run a cab service or small scale poultry or livestock to supplement his income. Keith Hart describes this as 'informal economy' (1973: 61-89).

22 In Ghana, small scale food crop and cocoa farmers do not consider the cost of family labour as an item of expenditure. However, Kofi Owusu was different. As former urban wage labourer he estimates family labour as an expense.

CHAPTER EIGHT

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MIGRATION IN PRANUM DISTRICT: DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN MIGRATION AS A CASE STUDY

During this century, many Ghanaians have migrated from rural areas for many reasons and to many different destinations. In some cases these destinations were within Ghana (i.e. to urban areas) but more often they were abroad; in many instances, the migration to an urban area was merely a staging post to a further migration overseas. An important theme in this migration is to be found in the mutually beneficial kinship links between migrants and relatives back home in rural areas. On one hand, through kinship links with people in urban areas and overseas, rural migrants can make initial contact with their places of destination. On the other hand, those who have successfully migrated and made an economic career away from home are usually duty-bound to send economic remittances back home. For Asante - and especially for the Domeabra-Owerriman people upon which this chapter mainly focuses - kinship obligations relating to these two aspects of migration were phrased in terms of matrilineal notions.

8 (i) SOME BASIC ISSUES AND CONTEXTS

At present, Ghana has over one million migrants living overseas[1]. Most of the migrants are post-1985 temporary migrants[2] whose sole aim is to accumulate capital to invest in housing and business in Ghana. The majority of the permanent migrants are in Britain, the USA, Canada, Germany and Holland. Despite economic recessions in Europe and the

subsequent tightening of immigration laws, Ghanaians are still able to find new opportunities for migration. On arrival in foreign countries, they are often prepared to take on any unskilled labour. The great majority of migrants are rural Akans from cocoa-growing areas who leave their farms because of the decline in cocoa productivity which has led to widespread impoverishment for most cocoa farmers. Traditional agriculture implies hard work and limited productivity.

There have been previous antecedents of migration in West Africa relating to earlier historical periods (Adu Boahen, 1966; Danquah, 1928; Meyerewitz, 1952; Snowden, 1975; Williams, 1976 and S. Amin, 1972)[3]. In most of these instances, trans-Saharan trade and inter-West African trade was the motivation behind the migration of people into ancient Ghana. Medieval trade with the Sudan included the exchange of such important commodities as kola nuts (a forest crop) and salt (a coastal product). In particular, Ghana (Gold Coast) peoples exchanged their salt, gold, ivory and kola nuts for beads, cowrie shells and cloths and slaves (Fynn, 1971: 70-75).

According to Eades (1987: 2-8), some early British research in Africa took a critical view of migration, linking it with poor agricultural output (Richards 1939) and cultural decay (Schapera 1947). He went further to say colonial administrators tended to equate migration with 'detribalisation' and 'demoralisation'. Whilst migration was necessary to provide labour in the receiving areas and to earn the cash to pay taxes, too much threatened the social and economic structures of rural areas, as well as leading to

the growth of towns which were difficult and expensive to administer. In spite of this criticism, many administrators attempted to keep labour circulating, ignoring those who argued (Wilson 1941: 70) that demoralisation could be best avoided by letting the migrants settle in town with their families.

As the global economic climate improved after 1945, so did the evaluation of the effects of migration. 'British anthropologists', most of whom had experience of the working conditions of migrants in towns in Africa, concluded that in Central Africa migration was sustaining and modernising, rather than destroying the fabric of tribal society (Watson 1958; van Velsen 1961). In West Africa, migrant farmers were leading the development of rural capitalism (Hill 1963; 1970). Kinship and ethnicity were seen not as basis for corporate groups, but as providing cognitive frameworks through which migrants could relate to their fellow townsmen. Urban adaptation was also helped by the voluntary associations that were springing up throughout West Africa, as well as in Latin America (Little 1965, Mangin 1959). Eades, referring to Abner Cohen, drew attention to the importance of religious and ethnic networks in long distance trade (1974). In considering permanent settlers and forms of work other than wage labour, Cohen's work looked forward to the studies of the 'informal economy' of the 1970s (Hart 1973) as well as to studies of ethnic economic enclaves in both third world and industrial societies (see Eades, 1987 Chapters 12 and 13). According to Eades (1987: 7) the main determinants of the rate of migration from a given area are

patterns of economic transformation and/or the actions of the state. The thrust of this chapter is to support Eades' argument: the SAP and other decisions of the state are clearly the main structural causes of migration with respect to Domeabra-Owerriman people.

In Africa in general and Ghana in particular, traditional notions have played and continue to play a major role in migration. In recent times, both kinship and ethnic ties have formed the basis for the realisation of migration. For example, help is normally received from the migrant's home or from family members who have already migrated and become established abroad. Successful migrants become pressured by their families back home to take relatives to be with them, whether skilled or not.

Thus in 1980 there was a noticeable pattern of migration from Ghana to Nigeria. Contacts for this migration had been established prior to 1969 when there was a substantial Nigerian community in Ghana, present in the country since about 1920. Around the same time there was also migration to the Ivory Coast, where relations were established on the basis of shared Akan ethnic identity[4]. Today, the continual migration from Ghana to Europe and other parts of the world is realised through relations based on kinship. With regard to Domeabra-Owerriman, it is the case (as has been seen in Chapter 7) that, for certain people, the economic situation in Ghana made it appropriate to return from urban areas to the rural domain, in order to take advantage of land, farms and matrilineal principles of property rights relating to these. However in this chapter I shall examine the various

social process and the differing categories of people with regard to out-migration from Domeabra-Owerriman to other parts, both urban areas within Ghana and, more particularly, overseas.

Pranum District has long been an important source of migratory labour for Kumase, the capital of Asante Region. In Kumase the aspiring migrants make contacts with overseas relations in the name of their family heads (efie mpaninfo). When they have received assurance of hospitality overseas, the migrants make regular visits to Accra, the national capital, to prepare their travel documents. As the administrative process can take a long time, most migrants look for work in the capital. Friendships develop between the would-be migrants. Opportunities for migration for those who do not have kinsmen overseas are usually limited to casual visits to Ivory Coast.

People who travel overseas usually have family already living at their destination. This provides the necessary links for a pattern of migration to grow. Over time, the process and pattern of migration to any particular destination becomes more established as more and more members of lineages become resident in these locations and become well-placed financially both through their own efforts and through government subsidies.

For example Norway became an open door for migrants whose kinsmen were students there, through the liberal Norwegian Government's study loan scheme which gave Third World students opportunities to study in Norway. From Ghana, many cocoa farmers, well-positioned government employees and

private businessmen were able to finance the travel expenses of aspiring migrants. After 1982, Domeabra-Owerriman migrants engaged in education constituted 15% of the total Ghanaian migrant community in Norway.

The chief economic 'push' factor relevant to such migration has been intimated already in this thesis, notably the decline in the cocoa sector and the general lack of development in the rural economy (farming remained mainly rain-fed, yet there was no attempt to introduce even simple irrigation and mechanisation). For many of the rural, younger generation, without the resources to rehabilitate the rural economy, the only possible means for economic survival has been to find economic resources overseas. The subsequent massive exodus has caused even greater farm labour shortages in rural areas.

8 (ii) POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK OF OVERSEAS MIGRATION

Ghanaian and Domeabra-Owerriman people have migrated to several different countries during this century. The focus of this study is migrants of the 1980s. However, the 1980s migration reflected, and was built on, previous migratory experiences. There were various categories of Domeabra-Owerriman migrants particularly in the United States, Britain and Germany. The reasons behind these migrations can be seen to vary according to the period of migration. Between 1950 and 1970, most migrants were male students, who often travelled with their wives. Between 1970 and 1980, many migrants also came with the main aim of studying: however

most were unable to afford higher education because of economic pressure at home. Some post-1980 migrants to Germany, Holland, Britain, Canada and USA travelled overseas because of political upheavals at home[5]. Most of these latter people tried to legitimate their positions abroad as political refugees. However, most claims were not granted as governments recognised them as economic refugees[6]. They were mostly teachers with post-secondary or primary school-leaver qualifications. Their main aim was never education since, at that time, making money was far more important. This money was intended to be remitted to Ghana.

Pre-1980 Ghanaian migrant workers in Britain and the United States were more secure than post-1980 migrants. African migrants, unlike many Asian migrants, usually migrate on a temporary basis. Famous examples of such migrants include the post-1950 African political leaders, Dr Kwame Nkrumah and Dr K. A Busia of Ghana, Emperor Haille Sallassie of Ethiopia, and Namdi Azikwe and Awolowo of Nigeria. Their first objectives were to have high education or secure some kind of work permit, whether temporary or permanent. Those Ghanaians who went to Japan, Israel, Libya and South Africa were employed on short-term contracts. They were therefore liable to repatriation once their contracts had expired. Over 1000 Ghanaians went to Libya as English language teachers in the early 1980s. They were made redundant when for political reasons the Libyan government stopped teaching English in Libyan schools and colleges. The teachers were therefore compelled to either return home or migrate elsewhere. Whilst in Britain, despite the attentions of the British National

Party and other right wing movements who lobbied for their repatriation, many Ghanaian migrants were given either permanent rights of residence or full British citizenship. In the late 1980s, in the United States those who had been there for ten or more years qualified for permanent residency. This was during the government of President Reagan. In Germany and Norway the number of years of stay does not influence residency rights.

Whilst living and working in Britain, Ghanaians[7] have sustained and recreated Ghanaian cultural identity for themselves through co-operative networks based on a shared identity - being Ghanaian. Other foreign communities such as Indians and Pakistani have also maintained their distinctive lifestyles. It is in this light that the extreme right-wing rejects these peoples' claim to citizenship. But as the migrants pose no conceivable threat to the white community and comply with citizenship duties, work and pay taxes etc - they enjoy their legal rights as British people who they are 'here to stay'.

According to Ballard (1987: 21), migrants everywhere, including Europeans as well as earlier Jewish and Irish settlers in Britain, have always worked closely in maintaining their collective interests. This is also seen in the lifestyle of Owerriman people who migrate to overseas countries. Owerriman migrants maintain family links and commitment to the welfare of their families and the socio-economic development of Domeabra through co-operative networks. Later on, I shall make reference to the various welfare organisations and family units they form in order to

promote their interests and to hold themselves together as they establish themselves in their new settings (see subsequent pages for discussion of welfare organisations).

Young Akan migrants maintained cultural links with their matri-families in Ghana. Some of those migrants, who received permanent resident permits after ten years, now have British citizenship. Most of those who arrived earlier, on the basis of matri-family financial support, married Ghanaians who were resident in Ghana. Patterns emerge whereby later migrants who gain citizenship in foreign countries marry into the next wave of migrants. These marriage arrangements and obligations bind the migrants together into kinship networks. The arrangements become obligatory as there is moral pressure from the respective parents and also concern from the wider social group.

The Asante urban migrants and the overseas migrants do help one another through kinship networks and lineage organisations. Through working together, economic resources are used to their best advantage. They are expected to fulfil kinship obligations with relation to people back home by extending material and financial support to their parents, the old or grandparents as well as anyone in the matri-family who has fallen on hard times. Migrants are concerned with maintaining their positions in their home communities in the likelihood that they will return at same stage.

After 1985, most Ghanaian migrants voluntarily left Germany for Holland and Canada. They felt safer in these countries as there was no fear of racial antagonism. They were able to invite their wives, children and siblings to

live with them. Those who had relatives in the USA moved there to be re-united with their families, while most of those in Canada visited Ghana more so than their counterparts in USA. It was comparatively easy to get an American visa but more difficult to get a green card (this guarantees an individual a permanent stay). Those without green cards have found it more difficult to establish themselves.

Those who went to Holland were the most unrestricted Ghanaian migrants overseas. They are provided with expensive accommodation which is subsidised by the Dutch government. There is no harassment from immigration officers so long as they do not commit any offences. Many Ghanaians met with economic and social success in Holland. They even formed clubs and associations and worked with residents from various Ghanaian ethnic groups through numerous welfare organisations. For example, the Pranum citizens formed Pranum Citizens Resident Associations both in Amsterdam and in London. These groups organised various cultural activities and seem to be more active than Ghanaian migrants elsewhere. In contrast, those who had earlier travelled to Germany and found a means to legalise their stay still faced racism and lived in fear of one day being asked to leave. Even those who married German women were not secure. One such a settler told me:

"Any who claims to have been able to legalise his stay as German citizen (bürger) does not know the law; if one divorces his German wife he loses his stay no matter how many years he has been here" (Duah, Heidelberg, Germany, 1993).

Ghanaian migrants face different legal restrictions in different countries. Immigration laws in Holland tend to be more liberal than in Britain where, even if an individual has permission to stay, it is not easy to subsequently bring other members of their family to join them. Harassment by British immigration authorities is also more harsh than in Holland. Occasionally cleaning company workers are confronted by immigration authorities and illegal workers are deported to their respective countries. In Norway, migrants can legalise their stay by marrying Norwegian citizens. However, no matter how many years a student stays, at the end of his or her studies, he or she will be made to leave.

Between 1960 and 1970, many Asante students who came to Britain and North America as private students were sponsored from the proceeds of matri-family communal cocoa farm estates rather than receiving sponsorship from the Ghanaian government.

Post 1980 migrants were willing to do whatever jobs were available, including cleaning, dish washing, working as night security guards, sales assistants, factory workers and cab drivers. Migrants were often frustrated due to unexpected discrimination in the labour market. Some of the employers gave them low wages and salaries. However, since, they were determined to obtain enough capital to return home and establish their own businesses, many migrants remained undeterred. Ghanaians living abroad usually establish strong social networks with one another, sharing and creating community life. At the same time that immigration laws were being made more stringent in Germany and Britain,

opportunities for work became more available in Israel, Japan and Italy. In these countries it was possible to avoid work which would expose them to immigration authorities. Migrants could find suitable employment in agriculture and construction. For many, these were temporary measures in that, after a few years they intended to travel to countries where they could live legally.

8 (iii) POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF OVERSEAS MIGRATION: THE GHANAIAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO MIGRATION

The policy of Ghana's present government with regard to the SAP has been "redeployment" (this is the World Bank and IMF word for vast reductions in the number of government employees designed to force down wage levels) in the government labour market which has caused massive unemployment in Ghana. Through the policy of redeployment, the government is hoping that the unemployed will become engaged in the agricultural sector of the economy. However, in practice, the economic crisis in Ghana has proved so extreme that many people have been forced to migrate. In one sense, migration can be seen as solving the unemployment problem in Ghana. It also has political ramifications: as more unemployed leave the country the tendency towards uprising against the government is vastly reduced. However, according to Sharp, mass migration does have a down-side: relocation or labour migration causes domestic predicaments such as a "brain-drain" and shortage of labour (Sharp, 1987: 130). One positive aspect of Ghanaian overseas migration is that Ghana receives a lot of foreign exchange from these

migrants. In view of that, the government has introduced foreign exchange bureaux.

Before 1989, Ghanaians foreign exchange earnings were subject to government control. There was a limit on the amount of foreign money which could be brought into Ghana without using banking services wherein a bank official became involved. This led to increased black-marketing[8]. In 1989 the Ghana Government set up the Forex Bureau Exchange, which features as street kiosks in an attempt to curb black-marketing and increase official tax returns through Forex Bureau Exchange Offices. Such indirect foreign exchange[9] is now normal for most business people in Ghana. The government's planned open market policy has been materialised through the introduction of foreign money into Ghana. Equally, this policy makes it possible to make foreign exchange available to those engaged in informal overseas business. In the past, without this facility, migrants would often give money to businessmen shopping in Britain who would make repayment by paying money to their relatives when back in Ghana. Too often, however, these remittances never reached the intended receiver. I have experienced this myself. In 1988, I had a letter from a nephew in Ghana requesting that I pay £2000 to the London banking accounts of Boakye-Nuamah, a Ghanaian businessman visiting London for shopping. He would pay the cedi equivalent to my nephew, Dr K. Frimpong-Mensah, who would then continue to manage my housing project. I transferred the money as requested. Boakye-Nuamah came to London and he explained to me that the cedi equivalent would be paid when he returned to Ghana. After six months my

relatives were still chasing this dubious man who had secretly managed to run away to the USA at the expense of myself and numerous migrants.

However, today (post 1989) all transfers can be issued through foreign exchange accounts at banks in Ghana or can be exchanged locally at the offices of the Forex Bureau at an official bank rate. Ghanaian migrants who buy commercial items abroad (such as vehicles) and then sell them in Ghana, can use the proceeds to buy foreign money for overseas use. Individuals who exchange money, whether through Forex Bureau or banks in Ghana, are subject to the exchange rate as fixed by the Bank of Ghana.

8 (iv) POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK OF URBAN MIGRATION WITHIN GHANA

Here, I deal with the opportunities for migrants afforded by life in urban Ghana. While urban migration used to be economically highly rewarding, now, since the introduction of the SAP, life in urban areas has become more difficult.

At the time of Ghana's independence in 1957, its population was about 5 million. During the 1970s it grew to about 8 million and is now over 12 million. Increases in population, along with decline in wealth, are contributing factors to migration. The introduction of the SAP has caused a shortage of employment opportunities in the government sector and there has been a lot of forced early retirements among government servants. Consequently, many former government employees are now finding an alternative source of income, and there has developed an informal economy (Hart,

1973)[10]. Many people who before 1980s were living in urban areas are now the people who are suffering from the effects of the SAP. In view of this, such people are making an economically-diverse living by means which are not readily obvious. An example is seen in the case of the people I refer to as 'Apatam'. Many people have joined the numerous 'Apatam' Group[11] for example the Lotto Tipping Group (who sit in the shade and calculate lotto numbers). Many of their children abandon schooling after Junior and Senior Secondary Schools and enter into the informal economy to try to earn money.

The bulk of investment gained through the SAP is geared towards mining and the timber exports. SAP loans are oriented towards the export sector of the economy where foreign capital can be acquired to repay loans. It is international financial institutions which benefit from the SAP. The few remaining government industries have low output production.

8 (v) THE ECONOMIC DETERMINATION OF MIGRATION: DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN'S LOCAL ECONOMY FROM THE 1980S ONWARDS

I begin this section by noting that Chapter 7 dealt with people returning to the rural areas. These people had resources to bring, namely their pensions, but for most rural people, especially the young, the rural economy brings totally unsatisfactory returns. In this section, I shall examine some of the specifically economic factors which encourage young men from Domeabra-Owerriman to migrate. In doing so it is important to demonstrate how personal situations and perspectives influence positions in relation to labour market structures. I shall illustrate this by

focusing on people moving, within Ghana, to Accra-Tema as compared with overseas migration.

The factors that frustrate young people and dispose them to leave are as follows: firstly, decline in cocoa production, which has affected the family heads who used to support the young people and people who were involved in the agricultural sector; secondly, the SAP, because of which the government has withdrawn all subsidies for agricultural inputs. The cost of agricultural input is expensive for those young people who need capital (see Chapter 4). Thirdly, agriculture is not attractive to the young people since agriculture is still rain-fed and productivity is low, so many young people prefer to migrate to find economic resources in urban areas. Fourthly, Asante society is very competitive - every family head expects his family members to achieve economic success, which may lead to high social status which will help individuals to fulfil their social impositions. If this is achieved, the individual gains prestige and recognition in the community (see Chapter 6: case 4 - Ateyiye). This may provide the individual with the chance to compete for a chiefship. Sixthly, the attitudes of rural dwellers about urban dwellers as well as overseas migrants pressure every individual young man to find access to opportunities to migrate ("abroad" is considered to be synonymous with "rich").

These factors all boil down to one prominent reason for migration. Migration (to Kumase, Accra-Tema or overseas) is in response to immediate cash needs. Cash is necessary to establish some kind of business usually of an 'informal'

kind, that is to say, supplementary to their official jobs and often invisible to the government (Hart, 1973: 61-89). Whilst in Accra-Tema, the newly established business migrant is usually faced with numerous family obligations and impositions. Often he is not able to make ends meet and cannot afford to get married. This is contrary to the norm that, by the time they are 25, most parents expect their children to have enough savings to get married. During casual visits to the 'natal home'[12] the household heads (efie panin) and the old women often advise their poor urban kin to plan to leave for overseas. Their main reason is that those who have successfully joined the overseas migration "train" are enjoying success. After a few years of frustration and inability to provide for their basic needs, there is only one economic choice, migration. It therefore becomes the responsibility of the entire lineage to help their kin to move on and join the overseas labour market.

The development of Pranum's economy contributed to outward migration from rural to urban centres. Cocoa became the dominant economy in Pranum (see Chapter 5), along with basic food crops for sale to the regional capital, Kumase. The most common source of employment in urban centres is trade since industry is concentrated in Accra-Tema metropolitan area. In these twin cities, industrial goods (e.g. textile products), building materials (e.g. cement) and iron sheets are produced. There are other construction jobs which employ cheap labour. Men work for low wages while their wives trade. There is other less formal work, such as pottery and craft-work, which attracts both salary workers and the

unemployed. Most unskilled migrants choose to stay in areas where there is cheap accommodation. There are others who have no access to work - they spend their daily hours sitting under shady trees. This group depend on the working members in their households for their survival.

Since 1990, income opportunities in the cities have increased slightly. In Accra-Tema and Kumase, young people parade along the major streets selling various cheap commodities. Others shine shoes or work in construction. Many women now work as hairdressers or seamstresses or perform domestic duties. Others trade in foodstuffs, meat and fish, provisions, textiles, footwear and cosmetics in the central open markets. Those who do not have any capital arrange to sell items on a commission basis. Many others are either self-employed or are employed by others in roadside foodstalls, 'chop bars' and coffee shops. These are popular food shops, mainly for low income groups. Wealthy people will also shop in these places.

Despite the growing costs of housing and of transportation in urban areas, urban migrants still feel they have more opportunities to succeed. In rural areas the only opportunity to make money is agriculture which is at present heavily constrained. In urban areas people have the chance to involve themselves in the informal economy with at least some hope of profit. Most of the young unmarried migrants do not rent a house nor do they prepare their own food (see Chapter 6, Table 4). The urban householders both practise backyard gardening and support their families in food crop farming, by

visiting their rural homes monthly and returning with harvest produce for their own consumption to their town of residence.

In the towns of Accra and Tema, there are two well-known quarters which were originally founded by West African migrants from Sahelian region and Northern Ghana. These popular quarters are 'Nima' in Accra and 'Ashaiman' in Tema. They are suburbs of the twin cities, Accra and Tema. The majority of the original settlers were Hausa, Mosi, Kotokoli, or Fulani. Now, because of the high cost of housing, many low income groups find accommodation in these areas where some of the settlers have rebuilt and renovated existing housing.

8 (vi) THE PRESSURE TO MIGRATE: SOCIAL DIMENSION

In the case of Domeabra-Owerriman people, social pressure also disposes them to migrate. This seems to be of two kinds: firstly, individuals' needs to meet their own social obligations relating to supporting their families and making financial contributions to social demands (such as contributions to church projects, community development [such as building a school or clinic], payment of funeral expenses, financial support of their parents and other matri-family members [particularly the aged, young children] and maintenance of their own nuclear families); and secondly, pressure from families and communities that individuals should migrate in order that the family or community can benefit from remittances and other support.

Two brief examples illustrate the relationship between social pressure and migration.

The first example is the case of myself: I was running my own private secondary school as my contribution to my community but my matri-uncle, Kofi Baafi, advised me that I had sacrificed too much for too long for the Domeabra-Owerriman community. I should therefore arrange to hand over the running of my college to a board of governors so that I could leave for overseas where I could then further my education. My twin brother and I were considered our family's best choice for sending overseas. I therefore decided to fulfil Kofi Baafi's request and further my education in Norway.

The second example is Kwabena Frimpong, one of my matri-brothers, succeeded our grandfather, Nana Kwasi Ntiamoah, in 1989. His mother and his senior sister recognised that Kwabena Frimpong was the only senior male in their uterine group and that he therefore had a lot of family obligations, such as rendering financial support. Nana Kwasi Ntiamoah's death created a vacuum not only for the uterine group but for the entire Asiamah house. Nana Kwasi Ntiamoah had started to build a two-storey house in Kumase but, due to many financial obligations, he could not complete it. Kwabena Frimpong, who was his heir, was therefore obligated to complete this house. Fortunately, his senior sister (Yaa Tabuah) was resident in London and could arrange for Kwabena Frimpong to come to London so as to fulfil his obligations. As soon as Kwabena Frimpong arrived in London, his sister (under pressure from their mother) asked Kwabena Frimpong to accumulate all his

wages to complete the house. Kwabena Frimpong has been able to send enough cash to his family to enable them to complete the house but remains in London to fulfil his own goals.

It is clear that there are other noticeable factors that drive people to migrate which are not related to family or personal goals. Such factors in Ghana have included political upheavals (such as the revolution of 1979, military coup in January 1981 and the long drought and bush fires in 1982/83) and economic crisis added to by the imposition of SAP over these years. Lack of cash caused many personal problems and increased desire to travel overseas. Such was the case for Domeabra migrants (see section on economic determination of migration).

My fieldwork has shown that there have been a considerable number of Domeabra-Owerriman people who migrated to European countries in search of education, trade etc. Over the years some of these migrants have returned to build houses, establish businesses, etc., in their home towns. This has in turn influenced more people to seek avenues for self advancement overseas.

Domeabra-Owerriman residents' strong identification with their lineage promotes considerable corporate responsibility in respect of helping individuals migrate overseas. In the context of migration, both kinship and marriage act as a conveyer belt. Migrants already overseas bring in spouses, children and other kinsmen into overseas countries. Here the new comers can improve their lives through manipulating family ties. The data from Domeabra-Owerriman areas

demonstrates this trend. Rural families often encourage migration of family members by two means: firstly, they manipulate fellow members' to encourage them to migrate; and secondly, they place social pressures on kin already in urban areas or overseas to help other kinsmen to migrate. Over the years, overseas migrants are therefore consistently pressured by kin who wish to join them. As rural standards of living have declined, pressure to move to the cities and overseas has increased and this in turn has led to an increase in the pressure on kin already abroad.

8 (vii) THE MIGRANTS' OBLIGATIONS

The discussion here deals with the duties of migrants (either overseas or in urban Ghana) to send remittances back to their rural areas, keep in touch with their relatives and fulfil family obligations. People usually feel bound to fulfil these duties. An example of a migrant ('Biggity') who did not fulfil his obligations can be found in Chapter 6.

Since 1980, migration has proved very beneficial in helping people establish strong independent families. Overseas migration has helped many Domeabra-Owerriman migrants to generate sufficient cash both to meet the socio-economic expectations of their parents and the lineage, and contribute towards community projects. See Tables 14, 15 and 16, which present questionnaire data pertaining to migration: the data speak for themselves.

TABLE 14: WHO BENEFITS FROM MIGRATION

Who benefits	frequency	percentage	cumulative frequency
Parents only	5	9.1	9.1
Children and wives only	2	3.6	12.7
Relatives	48	87.3	100.0
Total	55	100.0	

(Source: questionnaire)

TABLE 15: NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS WHERE MEMBERS MIGRATED

Have any of your members migrated?	frequency	percentage	CF
Yes	48	87.3	87.3
No	7	12.7	100.0
Total	55	100.0	100.0

(Source: questionnaire)

In contemporary Ghana, when individuals marry, the couple become fully recognised as adults. They are obliged to pay Council taxes and Area and Local surtaxes for area development projects. They are no longer exempted from contributing to the Church and funeral expenses and are expected to take on more responsible positions with regard to family agendas. To be able to face these challenges, the majority of couples plan to migrate in 'one lead', that is to say, the man migrates first and, after he has found work, he brings over his wife. Migrants initially take on whatever

work is available whilst continuing to pursue other possibilities. Where possible, they send capital home to establish mini-businesses or plan to invite relatives overseas. Alternatively, if a spouse has kinsmen who can invite the couple overseas, the husband will co-operate to let the wife join her matri-family. In many instances brothers who have moved overseas send their married sisters capital with which to trade.

TABLE 16: REMITTANCE FROM MIGRANTS

Do you receive a remittance?	Frequency	percentage	Cumulative frequency
Yes	42	76.4	76.4
No	13	23.6	100.0
Total	55	100.0	100.0

(Source: questionnaire)

In my household survey of 55 households, about 42 (76.4%) households' heads are supported by overseas migrants (see Table 16). However, many of these dependants (mostly wives and children) complain about the irregularity of these returns. In the past wives and children were catered for by parents and their husband's matri-kin. Today they can no longer rely on this help due to the low productivity of cocoa. If a wife is not satisfied by the remittances she is sent, her parents put pressure on the husband's parents and the matri-family head to invite the wife to join him

overseas. Sometimes conflicts ensue between the two sets of parents, often because the wife and her parents believe that it is the man's parents who have told their son to limit the remittances he sends to his wife. In these situations of suspicion, the two families usually meet under the auspices of their respective family heads to find a compromise. The obvious solution is to inform the husband as to the family decision to invite the wife or to arrange regular remittances. If the wife leaves to join the husband, the children are in most cases left in the care of the wife's mother. More often than not, educational facilities in rural areas in Ghana are deplorable. In this situation arrangements are made with wives or relatives in the regional capital to invite the migrants' children to stay with them in the towns.

8 (viii) HOUSING IN DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN

This section demonstrates how cocoa farmers were the main contributors to housing prior to 1980, while people who migrated to the towns between 1950 and 1980 made little or no such contributions. This implies that early migrants, despite their social obligations and efforts to raise money in response to these obligations, could not contribute effectively towards rural housing. However, post-1980 migrants have shown quite a distinct contrast in their contribution to the modernisation of housing systems in rural areas. The relevance of the tables is to demonstrate these housing developments in Domeabra-Owerriman. I use housing change as an index of socio-economic change.

In a social survey of Domeabra housing developments during my 1993/94 field work, there were approximately 500 houses in the new and old sectors of Domeabra. In the old township there are 260 houses which are recognised as matri-houses (non-matri houses are built with individuals' own capital and they have the right to give them to either patri-children or both matri- and patri- family. Of these 260 matri-houses, 73 houses are so dilapidated that they are not in full use. Apart from the 187 old-style matri-houses which are in full use, there are also 45 houses built recently by overseas migrants, making a total of 232 houses (see Table 17).

I shall try to analyse the development of Domeabra housing systems by considering the types of houses built, when houses were built and who built them. With increasing population houses become crowded which leads to new construction work. Incomes have to be accumulated to undertake these projects. However, family units in Ghana alone do not have sufficient capital to meet this demand.

Table 17 summarises housing investment, relating to 232 extant houses, during four periods of time, and indicates the occupations of the builders. By comparing the four periods we are able to trace trends in economic fortunes, including fortunes relating to migration.

TABLE 17: SOCIAL SURVEY ON HOUSING

Occupation	Before 1950	1950-1970	1971-1985	1986-1994
1 Food crop farmers	1	10	1	5
2 livestock and poultry farmers	-	-	-	1
3 palm oil farmers	-	-	-	2
4 cocoa farmers	37	35	10	3
5 government workers service personnel	5	6	6	19
6 artisans & craftsmen	4	2	4	1
7 market women and traders	10	-	4	2
8 professionals	-	-	3	1
9 business/ Entrepreneurs	-	2	2	3
10 "bürgers" and overseas resident	-	-	-	45
11 unidentified occupation	5	-	3	-
Total number of houses each period	62	55	33	82

With regard to houses built before 1950 cocoa farmers are easily the largest group responsible for investment - approximately 60% of houses were constructed by cocoa farmers. Market women and traders invested in 10 houses and craftsmen invested in 4 houses. Civil servants and teachers invested in 5 houses. Workers in unidentified occupations invested in 5 houses. Only one food crop farmer was able to build a house. The higher percentage of investments made by cocoa farmers in this period indicated that they were in a strong economic position.

55 present-day houses were built between 1950 and 1970. Out of this number, cocoa farmers invested in 35 (64%). During this period, resources from cocoa continued to dominate the economy. From 1950 to 1970, despite continued interest in cocoa farming, post-independence Ghana government policies favoured large scale food crop farming. In response cocoa farmers started to pay more attention to food

particularly, in the production of maize and rice. This consolidation in food crop farming helped these people to increase their investments in housing: such 'food crop farmers' financed 10 (18%) houses built during this period.

Out of the 33 houses built between 1971 and 1981, the cocoa farmers invested in 10 houses (30%). The investment by cocoa farmers started to decline due to low productivity and the government's agricultural policies. Other occupations increased their investment in housing to 23 houses (70%). This shows that whilst 'other occupations' (distillation of local gin, palm wine tapping, production of indigenous soap, processing of palm and kernel oil, production of cooked food) were increasing their purchasing power, cocoa farmers were becoming poorer.

Between 1986 and 1994 the effects of the Ghanaian economic crisis and the SAP, which pushed more Ghanaians into Europe and North America. As the local currency was devalued over 1000 times, the pound and dollar exchange value jumped so high that 'Bürgers' ('citizens'- Ghanaian refugees in Germany) and other overseas migrants who brought in foreign money were able to invest in expensive modern housing.

The number of houses built in this period was 82, out of which cocoa farmers invested in only 3 (4%). Food crop farmers invested in 5 houses (6%). Teachers (who until then were not prominent in housing investment) invested in 5 houses. The main purchasing power however was in the hands of the "Bürgers" and other overseas residents. Out of 82 houses, 45 (55% of the total) expensive modern houses were built by

this group. This is an indication of the positive and negative effect the SAP had on Ghanaian households.

TABLE 18: SOCIAL SURVEY ON HOUSING: TYPE OF STRUCTURES AND GHANA ECONOMY

Type of building	Before 1950	1950-1970	1971-1994
1 swish houses (atakwame) mud, unplastered houses	22	3	-
2 tree mud houses plastered (nnuadan)	2	-	-
3 brick houses plastered	1	5	-
4 compound swish houses plastered	19	10	-
5 compound swish houses unplastered	3	6	-
6 improved swish and brick houses, plastered and floor cemented	13	7	-
7-11 modern landcrete or cement block houses			
7 boy's quarters 4/5 bedroom (landcrete) blocks	-	-	15
8 4/5 rooms, bathroom & kitchen with cement blocks (sandcrete)		15	50
9 modern bungalow flats housing 5/6 rooms	-	-	36
10 compound cement block houses(8-10) bedrooms including main block boys quarters	-	7	13
11 2 storey houses	2	2	1
	62	**55**	**115**

The qualities of housing constructed through this whole period is also an changing economic fortunes. Thus out of the 62 houses built before 1950, 22 were unplastered swish houses[13], 19 were compound houses[14] which were swish plastered, and 13 swish and brick houses which had been rehabilitated and plastered with cement floors. There were also 2 tree houses[15], which were improved and plastered. In addition,

there were 2 two-storey houses, one of which is still ranked among the most expensive in the area.

From 1950 to 1970, the purchasing power of an average cocoa farmer increased. Firstly, many farmers started to build houses in Kumase, secondly in Domeabra-Owerriman. This allowed the farmers to invest further in swish houses. In Domeabra-Owerriman they were able to build 16 compound swish houses, out of which 10 were plastered. From 1960, many citizens became interested in modern housing. Further construction included 24 cement block houses, 15 of which were 4 to 5 bedroom houses, seven were compound houses of 8-10 bedrooms and 2 were two-storey houses. As production of cocoa reached its peak in the mid-1960s, the cocoa farmers were able to reinvest their money in modern building. By the mid-1960s many cocoa farmers built houses not only in rural areas, but also in the regional capital, Kumase. Domeabra residents in Kumase who were involved in large-scale cocoa production were able to build expensive houses of two, three and four floors.

Whilst Domeabra residents in Kumase built over 20 houses, other residents from Pranum district built less. The figures should be read in conjunction with the fact that at this time, Domeabra was producing a substantial amount of cocoa.

Between 1970 and 1994 new top-range houses were built. At the low-quality end, landcrete[16] block housing was considered more acceptable and more economically sound than swish housing. The rehabilitation and maintenance of the

latter was proving expensive. All the houses built in this period were (4-5 room) block houses, 15 of which were landcrete and 50 sandcrete. 36 modern bungalows (of 5-6 bedrooms) were also built and in addition 13 compound houses. All these houses, excepting landcrete, can be considered 'modern'.

About half of the modern houses were built by the "Bürgers" and other overseas residents. Emigration overseas has been acclaimed by those in receipt of migrant workers' earnings. But the effect on the community of some families having a modern house and others not having a such house leads to strife and competition. I visited two sibling sisters who were very close before 1985. In 1992, the junior sister moved out of the matri-family house to stay in a new house built by her son who then lived in Switzerland. The senior sister had been waiting in vain for her daughter in London to finance a similar project. She was disappointed not to have heard from her daughter. Migrants investment in housing is a feature of modernisation. However it has also led to increased inequality in Ghanaian society. The appearance of modern housing has been a great incentive for many able young men to seek their fortunes in Europe and North America. The adverse effect of this is that able young people are leaving the country at the expense of Ghana's manpower needs.

8 (ix) THE MIGRANTS' DESCRIPTIONS AND EVALUATION OF THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Migrants' hopes and uncertainties:

(1) The Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) has been hailed as very successful by the World Bank and IMF, since it is a market-oriented policy. With regard to the household, however, the radical economic policies have caused economic hardship for the people. There has not been investment in Ghanaian own factories. The production capacity of local factories continue to decline. As a result of this high import goods come to the country which makes people unable to buy the essential items. This has been confirmed by Mensah (1995), when he writes that "I wish the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank would stop praising us (Ghanaians). They want a success story to show their medicine is working. Unfortunately, Ghana is not the success story" (West Africa, 15-21 May 1995:756).

(2) The urban migrants within Ghana are not satisfied with their income under SAP. It is very difficult for them to send remittances to kinsmen in rural areas. Family heads and parents encourage young people to migrate to urban centres and give them practical help to do so because it is at the urban centres that one can find possibilities for overseas emigration. While in Domeabra-Owerriman they meet the demands of the local labour market but

receive a net income on which they can barely support themselves. An urban businessman's disillusionment with the SAP and his current situation can be seen in the following extract from an interview:

(3) "The future of our children have been endangered by SAP. If one does not encourage his children to emigrate to overseas there is no hope for survival of the family and provision of man's needs like housing and his socio-political and economic role in Asante society" (Yaw Anarfi-Frimpong, Kumase, Ghana, June 1994).

(4) It is widely recognised that overseas migrants are wealthier than many of their counterparts in Ghana. To the people at home, overseas has been equated with money and good living whilst they themselves as rural dwellers live in dire circumstances. The local currency (cedi) has been devalued by a factor of more than 1000 since 1983. For example, in 1983 £100 was equivalent to 250 cedis. Now £100 is worth 300,000 cedis.

(5) It is because of hardship in Ghana that the Ghanaian migrants are unwilling to return home. The various attempts to send money to help relatives to undertake food crop farming has proved disappointing. With the SAP policy in 1983 and the 1989 requiring a complete withdrawal of input subsidies, the high agricultural input cost diminished the opportunities to make extra income. The following extract from an interview with a Ghanaian man settled in London illustrates this change in the economic climate. "I would never advise any migrant to return to Ghana because of socio-economic

problems. At least we are able to have a square meal every day and send remittances home. In 1960s and 1970s living and working in Ghana I was able to use my income to build four houses. But before I decided to return to Britain in late 1980s conditions had become economically difficult for me." (Kwame Agyei, London June, 1993).

Two case studies of migrants' experiences illustrate these general themes.

The first refers to two brothers, Asiedu and Kofi Duh, from Domeabra, who before 1983 were staying in Kumase working as Ghana Lottery Tipping Agents. At Domeabra their three matri-family houses were in a state of disrepair. Like many others, their family cocoa farms were burnt during the 1983 bush fires. Nobody from their household had been able to achieve higher education or had entered into serious trading business. In 1981 the younger brother, Kofi Duh, went to Germany but, as he felt insecure there, proceeded to Japan. Many post-1980 Ghanaian migrants were refused refugee status by immigration authorities on the grounds that they were economic refugees. Whilst in Japan between 1984 and 1989 he managed to arrange for his two brothers to join him there. By 1993 they had been able to build a very modern family house in Domeabra which is currently home to all their uncles, mother, father and their sibling sisters and children. In London I interviewed Yaa Tabuah about her cousins' overseas migration:

Baafour: Yaa, what do you think about the present mass migration of able young people leaving behind their old relatives?

Yaa: "Look at 'Japan house': how would one have imagined these my own matri-brothers could have used their meagre resources in Ghana to have accumulated enough capital to build such a modern house. My husband is a graduate secondary school teacher. I am a housewife and whilst I was in Ghana we ran a small scale poultry farm, along with some food crop farming, and continued with the rehabilitation of our cocoa farm. I have six children. My husband is also a wing-chief who thus has added social responsibilities to meet as well as financing the education of our children. Even university lecturers face difficulties. But when I became a migrant in London I have been able to complete my house at Domeabra and begin some serious renovation of the family property in Kumase. Our only hope is migration to overseas" (Yaa Tabuah Amoako, London, November, 1995).

The second case study refers to Yaw Anarfi Frimpong proprietor of a prosperous hardware store in Kumase. But his business in 1983 was not to be enough to steer his family through what would be difficult times, so in 1988 he sold his house for 25 million cedis to pay for his sons' travel to the USA. The future for his family had become bleak because people could not afford to buy hardware goods from his shop. His expenditure exceeded his income especially as he had to pay for the education of 5 of his 8 children. Previously, he had rented out the same two storey house to the University of

Science and Technology (UST), Kumase. Now however he could think of no alternative other than to sell the house so that his children could migrate and build a new house some time in the future. Were they to continue in Ghana as things were, he would be pushed into unpredictable debt. In an interview, he said "I am confident my strategy of selling my house to get money to pay for my children overseas journey will yield the best dividend and provide better future for my family". (Yaw Anarfi-Frimpong, Kumase, Ghana, June 1994).

When I interviewed Yaw, he emphatically made it clear to me that if he had not taken such bold steps, he would have died under the pressure. He was very happy when after just six months his two sons and nephew were able to send him enough money to start trading again. He emphasised that the choice he made was the only viable one in coming to terms with economic realities.

Migrants always receive news and warning from home about SAP propaganda and they are often warned not to return home without first completing their family obligations, such as building a family house in their home village, and a patri-family house in Kumase or Accra-Tema from which to conduct business[17]. Migrants are therefore encouraged to stay abroad despite social problems overseas. In terms of accumulating earnings they are better off than those in Ghana and easily become patrons for business in Ghana. The following passage is taken from an interview in Bergen in 1985, with an African M.A. student and refugee who had become frustrated in Norway:
Baafour: I hear you are now employed as a librarian. This is a much more professional job than dish washing.

Kibedi: Do you know what Kayakaya (native goods carrier) do in Ghana? I am just a book carrier. At home, our people are poor, but they are happy. Here loneliness, individualist attitudes and job discrimination prevail.

In 1995 I asked a London resident for his opinion on what Kibedi had said.

Baafour: Kwaku Oduro, how do you account for this?

Oduro: We have stayed many more years in Europe than we wished but, had we not made these sacrifices our kinsmen at home would have died. Our people need our money for survival. As for loneliness, there are so many organisations and unions one can join.

There are many cases where young wives have been left behind in Ghana for several years, yet showed considerable tolerance and patience during their husbands' long absences in Europe, even when remittances were irregular, which at times led them into economic hardship. Divorce is rare since in the rural areas the majority of Ghanaian young men are not able to get married, because of their economic situation. The women who patiently wait for their men bear in mind the possible future benefits.

8 (x) MIGRATION OF WOMEN IN WEST AFRICA

There have been fewer single woman migrants than men throughout the history of West African migration. Apart from a couple of documents in the Ghana National Archives which discuss the problem of movement of women and possible remedies for their control (e.g. Nag Adm 39/1/881, Adm 39/1/47 and Little, 1973), there is little information on

female migration. However, a survey carried out by Ghana's Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare during the first four days of the influx of Ghanaian returnees from Nigeria in 1983 shows that about 25 per cent were women both single and married. Of these 67% were skilled (Brydon, 1987: 165-177). Traditionally, African women only joined their migrant husbands after the husbands had become established overseas. Bassat and Trouve (1982) found that the movement of young Cameroonian women independently of husbands is a relatively recent phenomenon, possibly only beginning after 1970. Somewhat similarly amongst the Burkina Faso, who have the highest rates of migration in West Africa, more men than women are engaged in labour migration (Brydon 1979; 1985c). Migration of women was rare in the past because women provided the domestic services at home, caring for their children and ageing relatives. Also, women produced subsistence food crops (whereas men produced cash crops), so women were more 'tied' to their natal lands (Sharp, 1987: 130).

In 1983, I interviewed numerous Domeabra-Owerriman migrants returning from Nigeria about the conditions of migrant women there. The men emphasised that their women never engaged in prostitution but were working as maids in Nigerian hotels or as chop bar porters. However, a few of those working as hotel maids were sexually harassed and, as a result of insecurity, fell victim to prostitution at the hands of Nigerian men. Rarely did they marry these men. Since most of the women were engaged in unskilled labour during day hours they refused to get involved in prostitution. They

often mentioned a particular group of people from the Volta Region of Ghana, the Avatime, who were believed to be involved in prostitution.

In my 1993/94 field work, I interviewed both young men and young women who had been in the Ivory Coast. Both sexes confirmed the involvement of Ghanaian women in prostitution in the Ivory Coast. Recently such people have come to be described by a new term, "Gentler". Gentler women are women who do not openly practice prostitution but who have sex with boyfriends who can financially support them. They always wear expensive clothes. Out of 50 women interviewed who were either in Ivory Coast or had returned to Ghana, three people who were engaged in partial prostitution returned to Ghana and were suspected of having HIV. They were not 'gentler' women. They were rejected by their people and died after two or three months in Ghana. Seven others who were known to have been involved in prostitution were pressured by their parents to stay in Ghana and farm rather than further involve themselves in prostitution. Most Akans regard prostitution as a social evil. According to Brydon (1985, 1987: 165-177), women often move for positive reasons: 'to look for work, to accompany husbands, and so on'. There is therefore no necessary association of migration with prostitution. It is insulting, as Sanjek (1976) states, to assume that women without husbands will become prostitutes.

8 (xi) THE NATAL COMMUNITY

Here, I discuss the economic circumstances of Domeabra-Owerriman rural area in terms of their having benefited by migration.

Domeabra-Owerriman people's adaptation to economic crises in Ghana is in the form of remittances sent to families at home (as seen in Chapter 7). Case studies showed that kinsmen who became sick had their medical expenses paid by migrant kinsmen. Also, the annual expenditure of families surpasses their normal local income. The deficit is paid through remittances (see tables 15 and 16). It can also be seen (see table 5 in Chapter 7) that there has been increasing productivity in agricultural output after the 1983 bush fires due to financial support sent by migrants to their kinsmen at home for cocoa rehabilitation, food crop and livestock farming. There is also increasing modernisation of family houses (see tables 18 and 19). There are also many who have been able to enter into small scale business. The following five cases illustrate.

Case 1: Nuamah Kwabiah

In Chapter 7, I discussed the case of my senior brother, Nuamah Kwabiah, whose pension was reduced to nothing. He was forced to start farming cocoa with our senior brother. In response to our family's request, my sister and I invited his two sons and daughter to Norway. Since then, our brother's children have been sending remittances to him and their mother. Nuamah Kwabiah now contributes economically to the social needs in his community. He also participates in

community activities such as contributing to the community's annual harvest and financial support of his matri-children. He has recently been financially supporting some of his contemporaries who returned to Domeabra-Owerriman in 1983. Kwabiah Nuamah's appeal to his children to build houses in Kumase and Accra has led his children to embark on housing projects. In 1995, Nuamah Kwabiah told me and my sister that our plan to rehabilitate him by inviting his children to Norway had yielded a fruitful result.

Case 2: Kwaku Asare Afriyie

Kwaku Asare Afriyie was receiving remittances from his two brothers and sister. When I visited Ghana in 1993/4, he had rehabilitated his family cocoa farms and had also planted about 10 hectares of palm trees. He told me he had appealed to his sister and brother-in-law to give him capital to start poultry farming. In 1995, when I returned to Ghana, Kwaku Asare Afriyie's sister and her husband had given him milling machines for processing palm oil and palm kernel oil. According to Kwaku Asare Afriyie, this was because Extension Officers who visited his palm plantation had advised him to invest in oil processing plant if at all possible. Their reasoning was that by the year 2000, his palm plantation products could supply him with enough palm nuts to make processing economically viable. He would then be able to sell palm oil products both to the local market and to Lever Brothers' Ghanaian subsidiary. Kwaku Asare Afriyie told me that his return to his ancestral land has given him a good dividend. His sister also said that his care for their

ancestral land for her and her children had really given him and his nuclear family a fresh start.

Case 3: Afuah Buamah

She is an illiterate woman who had given birth to six daughters. Her senior daughter, Yaa Frimpomaah and her husband (popularly called Agya), became migrants to Germany in the early 1980s. They managed to accumulate some capital and returned to Ghana in 1990. They brought three trucks to start a transport business and built a hotel at Domeabra. This is a unique investment since in most cases Ghanaian migrants invest in hotel businesses in Accra-Tema and Kumase. Yaa Frimpomaah returned to Germany in 1992 whilst her husband and her mother and two sisters kept the hotel. The hotel has been a prestigious investment in Domeabra-Owerriman. It has been a social centre for Domeabra-Owerriman migrants who visit home. In 1993, Afuah Buamah (who is my patrilineal cousin) visited me in my house at Domeabra and introduced her son-in-law to me. She asked me to thank her daughter and her son-in-law since she is no longer dependent on remittances. Instead, she and her children are self-employed and both their and our district's prestige have been raised.

Case 4: Amma Frimpomaah

Amma Frimpomaah was a migrant to Ivory Coast from 1976 to 1984. She made notable savings from her chop bar business and returned to Ghana in 1984 and established a medium scale poultry farm. In 1993, I had a discussion with Amma Frimpomaah about Ghanaian migrants' problems in Nigeria and

Ivory Coast. Amma Frimpomaah told me that migrants have specific problems wherever they go. However, as she was aware of Ghana's economic problems and that she was a single woman leaving her mother, father and other members of the family, she decided to make serious savings and return home to establish her own business. Amma told me that if migrants were able to make money it would negate the social problems they face. She had employed three boys in addition to her own labour. She was confident that after few years' experience she would be able to expand her business. Her senior sister, Attaah Frimpomaah, and her parents appreciated Amma's financial contribution. Her two junior brothers (Kwabena Frimpong and Yaw Opuni) were also in the USA. It was Yaw Opuni who went to USA in 1980 and invited his senior brother Kwabena Frimpong in 1981. Kwabena Frimpong's case study follows.

Case 5: Kwabena Frimpong

Kwabena Frimpong was a primary school teacher between 1974 to 1980. During General Akyeampong's SMC government, many professional men were engaged in "side-businesses" which were seen as questionable (in Ghanaian slang this is called kalabule: "illegal business transaction"). At the time it was easy to obtain a loan from a bank or personal contact. Kwabena Frimpong, was able to engage in such 'side' ventures, as road construction and building contracting. During the 1979 Revolution led by Ft. Lt. Jerry Rawlings such works were seized. (One of Rawlings' aims was to stamp out corruption). To save Kwabena Frimpong from what Rawlings termed

"accountability", his junior brother, Yaw Opuni, invited him to the USA. As a businessman Kwabena Frimpong knew what sort of businesses one could invest in safely. From 1981 to 1990 he accumulated capital from his wages and bought sawmill machinery. He returned to Ghana in 1991 and established a mini-sawmill. When I visited Kwabena Frimpong at his sawmill, he had employed five boys, mostly kinsmen's children. Kwabena Frimpong told me that without migration he would not have been able to establish this business. However, he gave a lot of credit to Yaw Opuni who had responded to his family's needs and helped him and another nephew to go to the USA. Kwabena Frimpong now has a high social position because of his financial contribution to his matri-family and community.

8 (xii) LONG-TERM PROCESSES RELATING TO MIGRANTS IN OVERSEAS COUNTRIES: MIGRANTS IN BRITAIN

In 1950, the first migrants to Britain from Domeabra-Owerriman came here as students. They were three cousins, Kwame Agyei, Kwasi Omane Mensah and Yaw Sarpong. Yaw Sarpong chose to curtail his education to become a full-time migrant worker. Between 1960 and 1970 another twenty-three people from Domeabra-Owerriman arrived, mostly students sponsored by their families. There were twelve women, eight of whom came as wives of students.

These students who had wives and children initially travelled alone. Their wives joined them after three to four years. Others, with the co-operation of their families, arranged marriages with girls back home and their wives joined them as students' wives. Later, the rest were all able

to marry Ghanaians they met in London. Engaged in studies and restricted by income many students were unable to visit Ghana for five to ten years. Between 1970 and 1980, another ten Domeabra-Owerriman citizens arrived in Britain. Two of the ten were women, both of whom were joining their husbands who were already based in England. By 1980, out of the 36 migrants only one couple (also came before 1970) were both from Domeabra. The other thirty-four married outsiders - but still from Ghana. Two of the males married English women.

Between 1969 and 1970 (the period of the Second Republic[18] [under Dr Busia], most of the migrants who had completed their studies returned finally to Ghana, because Ghanaians traditionally had no desire to settle abroad permanently. There is an ironic parallel here with Eades' findings about migration of Yoruba people in West Africa, specifically those who migrated from Nigeria to Ghana to take advantage of Ghana's free education system. "When chain migration takes place to different areas from the same place of origin, the results can be extremely complex... This was extremely useful in exploiting, for instance, the availability of cheap education in Ghana and better job opportunities elsewhere" (Eades 1987: 8). Many of the men engaged in studies aimed at high academic qualifications while their wives took sandwich courses in addition to working. Those who qualified after 1974 were expected to return home to take up jobs in the government establishment. Others set up home in Britain till retirement, intending then to return home to live comfortably in Ghana.

Some of the factors which now determine the migrants' intention to stay longer overseas are economic difficulties and the high costs of financing the education of their children in Ghana. However despite the high cost of living in Ghana, most migrants believe the social life in Ghana to be preferable to that overseas. In Ghana, social relations between families are close and allow concern for and response to, other peoples' problems. Job discrimination is minimal. Racism is not tolerated. Today Ghanaian migrants in Britain invite their kinsmen, particularly elderly parents, to visit as the old people complain of missing them. The post-1980 economic crisis in Ghana made many Ghanaian migrants think of a permanent stay in Britain. Some even gave up their Ghanaian citizenship for British citizenship.

Patterns of migration, however, changed after 1980. Most migrants travelled solely to find work. Most were post primary school leavers and looked for work rather than engaging in education. The jobs were described by the migrants as hard and poorly paid. As the post-1980 economic crisis deepened with the introduction of SAP many people continue to help their kinsmen to emigrate. There has been continuous migration of Ghanaians to Britain: some migrants have visas; others claim to be political refugees, but are escaping from the unbearable economic hardships in Ghana. The SAP policies were introduced a year after year which result in increasing new hardships. For example the 1995 Value Added Tax (VAT) caused waves of demonstrations throughout Ghana. Many migrants consider Britain as a good source of unskilled labouring jobs. Despite a series of measures introduced to

control the influx of non-European immigrants, the number continues to increase, especially as the textile and cleaning industries are in need of cheap labour. Migrants also consider competing for white collar jobs. They take whatever jobs are going. Again, however, individuals are bound up with the wider lineage or sub-lineage group. These groups have strengthened over these years. They are the means whereby new migrants' travel costs are sponsored by overseas kinsmen.

A third identifiable group of Ghanaians who trade in London regularly may be referred to as the Accra-London international traders. These are the people who have capital for trade. They are usually given six-month visas for stays in Britain. During this time they purchase the most needed commodities and ship them to Ghana for sale in their stores or to be sold to retailers. Whilst in Britain, they establish contact with factories which ship the goods direct to Ghana. Others use trading partners living in London. These partners are often relatives who work as liaisons in arranging the purchasing and shipment of the goods once a deposit has been paid. Some of these traders also engage in part-time jobs while in Britain. All these traders are in competition with both multinational companies (such as UTC, UAC) and local textile factories such as Tema and Akosombo Textiles. On arrival in London, they stay with relatives and friends. Interestingly, this Accra-London trading is dominated by women.

The 1985 British immigration rules which insist that the entire family - wives and daughters as well as sons - should migrate at the same time posed problems for many Ghanaian

London residents. Many who had permanent residence before 1980 had sent their children to secondary schools in Ghana. Today, most of these children would like to return to London to stay with their parents and continue their education. The post-1985 economic problems have forced many permanently resident Ghanaians to apply for permission for their family to join them. Most of their applications made to the British High Commission are subjected to severe scrutiny (see the commission for Racial Equality's 1985 comments [Ballard, 1987: 26]). As the children might have been living apart from their parents for a long time, an applicant ends up having to convince the Consulate Visa Section that all members of the family are related to the applicant. Parents in Britain whose children are refused entrance have no alternative but to make visits to Ghana if they want to see their children. There are other cases of young men in Britain who visit Ghana to get married but face difficulties when their wives try to join them in Britain.

I experienced such difficulties myself. In 1994 when I was in Ghana for my field work, my eighteen year old daughter asked if she could live with me. My brother and her matri-uncle with whom she had been staying advised me to let her join me. When I returned to St Andrews I prepared all the necessary documents and sent an invitation letter. Her visa was refused. The major reason given was that 'she is not part of my family in Europe'. In my attempt to reverse the decision, I consulted The Immigration Advisory Service. The counsellor who interviewed me informed me that 'as your

daughter is not married and continues to depend upon you the Consulate Visa Section of British High Commission has misinterpreted the law. You have the right to make an appeal'. I did appeal and the case was sent to a special immigration court in Glasgow. Again the court refused to grant the visa for the same reasons. The Immigration Advisory Council was surprised by the judgement. A subsequent appeal was made to the Immigration Tribunal in London without success.

Another instance is the case of Asabere. In November 1995 the wife of Asabere, a recently widowed Ghanaian resident in London. For the past four years he has been having acute rheumatic pains in his abdomen. He received an operation in June 1996. He finds life very difficult as a single man with health problems. He visited Ghana in July 1996 to get married. He applied for a visa in Accra for his new wife. The British Consulate refused to give his wife the visa because the man lived on unemployment benefit. He has now sent the case to court. Similar problems have arisen for other migrants who return to Ghana, marry and then try to get visas for their wives.

The unbearable economic situation in Ghana now compels Ghanaian migrants to extend their stays overseas. This is in contrast to the number of Ghanaians who had permanent residency abroad in the early 1970s but decided to go home to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

8 (xiii) DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN STUDENTS IN NORWAY

In 1978 there were about 40 African students studying in Norway. These migrants generally found themselves embarrassed in the company of Norwegians as most Norwegians knew very little about Africa. Common questions asked included: Why did you come to Norway? When will you leave for Ghana? Were you living in a city or in a rural area? Did you buy your clothing here? Do your people get food to eat? Why did you not go to Britain to study? Why do you eat with your hands in Africa? Did you travel by boat or plane? Such questions were asked by people who knew very little about Africa and held stereotypical images of Africans which were often unintendedly derogatory. Others with racial prejudice address Africans as 'nigger'. This is very discomforting to Africans. Very few had any knowledge about individual African countries such as Gambia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania etc. At times migrants might be told "nigger, gå hjem, Norge er for Normenn (nigger, go home, Norway is for Norwegians).

There were however educational opportunities in Norway which did not exist anywhere else in Europe. The Norwegian Royal Development Agency and the Government's liberal study loan policy permitted great access for many Africans to study in Norway. Those who came to Norway between 1984 and 1990 had very good chances of benefiting from the State Study Loan Scheme and were also permitted to work for up to 20 hours per week.

In order for Africans to protect themselves, in 1978 Africans studying at the University of Bergen formed the nucleus of what was to become the African Students Union,

also embracing African Americans and African Caribbeans. The African migrant workers were co-opted as members. In 1980, the Norwegian Ministry of Cultural Affairs met the representatives of foreign national residents' associations and encouraged them to maintain their associations so that the ministry could deal with them as unified representative bodies.

In 1981, the Ghanaians in Oslo formed the Association of Ghanaian Residents in Norway which comprised thirty-eight members: 19 men and 19 women. The number of Ghanaian students in Norwegian Universities increased steadily, with most Ghanaian students performing as well as (if not better than) their Norwegian counterparts. The University Board increased the allowed quota of Ghanaian students and, by the end of the 1985/86 academic year, the Ghanaian student population had increased to more than 100.

At this time the Gambians comprised the largest student population as they had free visa entry to Norway whereas Ghanaians had limited access. Even though they had their own union they co-operated with the Ghanaians to jointly run the African Students' Union which became a forum through which the Africans gained recognition throughout the University and had their special problems recognised. These African students worked hard at building good relations among and with locals.

Among the Ghanaian students were about 40 students from the Domeabra-Owerriman Traditional Area. These students were first admitted into the Norwegian International Folk High School where they studied the Norwegian language (Norsk) for one academic year. After this introductory year, classes were

made available in the Norwegian Technical Vocational Schools. By 1992 the students (together with their wives and children) had increased from the original four to sixty. As their number grew, greater organisation was required to cater for all manner of problems. In view of this, the Domeabra-Owerriman Residents Welfare Union was formed to cater for their needs. It was run by an elected body drawn from the membership.

All the pioneer students who came to Norway in the mid-1980s did so through the help of family kinship relations. Once the students had established themselves in Norway, they prioritised the building of family houses in Ghana. It was the lineage heads who proposed such measures, with the consensus of the entire lineage. Individuals make decisions in social contexts which are familiar to others. Patterns become established as agreements are made. Holy and Stuchlik (1983) refer to these agreements as norms. For Domeabra students in Norway, obtaining part-time work outside of their educational commitment was essential for them both to survive and making savings from their study loan. By 1989, however, casual work was not easy to come by. The only possible work was newspaper distribution and cleaning. This involved one or two hours work per day. Numerous Ghanaian students delivered papers early in the morning or late in the evening. Many students were able successfully to save the greater part of their study loan. Their Domeabra counterparts elsewhere in Europe and North America are mostly full-time migrant workers. Students in Norway could only compete with them economically by saving every possible Kroner.

Unfortunately, since 1990, the Norwegian immigration authorities have not allowed foreign students in a technical-vocational or secondary school to further their education in higher institutions. This is because they now limit overseas students to a maximum of 4 years study, no matter what level. Their counterparts in Ghana however have the chance to pursue higher education. Ghanaian students in Norway therefore faced a dilemma: should they concentrate on education or earn badly needed cash. It should also be noted that, were they to take on full-time jobs, they would risk being deported without the qualifications and the capital they depended upon.

From 1991, as jobs became scarce, both students and migrant workers were accused of taking Norwegian jobs. Norwegian public opinion forced the government to tighten immigration laws with regard to foreign students. This resulted in the abolition of the earlier government policy of giving permanent resident permits to all those who had been in the country for at least ten years. All foreign students who had completed any educational courses were to leave the country. These changes in policy therefore negatively affected most (if not all) foreign students.

The matrilineal Akans learnt and applied several things from the Norwegian housing system. For example sub-lineage houses in Ghana could be built to consist of several self-contained nuclear family apartments (rather than the compound house with a common kitchen and other facilities). Also modern houses could just as well be built in rural areas as urban areas. The students worked collectively to embark on

modern housing projects in their rural community before thinking about house in Kumase or Accra.

I was one of the students in Norway, between 1976 and 1992. My philosophy, 'education as first priority for social change and group housing scheme', caused a lot of psychological impact on the lineages and drew attention of lineage kinsmen in Norway towards making their natal homes their first priority for investment. We had learnt, having conceived the Norwegian rural infrastructure that could have the same facilities as urban areas. My example affected the whole community. My strategy had its equivalents in acquisition of cocoa by early cocoa farmers (see Polly Hill 1970). Such a 'rural' strategy, reactivating matrilineal principles and reviving their rural base, mirrors the strategy used in the past by matrilineal Asante in time of dislocations and upheavals.

8 (xiv) SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF OVERSEAS MIGRANTS

I now outline the welfare, family and self-help organisations established by migrants within their host countries. These organisations have practical use and also function to sustain lineage, ethnic and national identity. I shall discuss this with reference to migrants in Britain.

Both ethnic and national identities are important for Ghanaian residents in Britain. They have formed various organisations in England with London as the base. These Akan associations in London are based on a number of principles - Firstly there are those based on clan or lineage relations. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are seven matrilineal clans

who based their association to one another through blood (mogya). This is particularly evident in London. London migrants, for whom clans and lineages remain important considerations, invoke the lineage to secure a social identity. Secondly there are 'home' town or district organisations which imitate those which have sprung up in Kumase and Accra-Tema. In Kumase there is the Asante 'Kotoko' Association whilst in London there is the Asante Kotoko Citizens Union. Such autonomous district unions refer to territorial based chiefship or town administrative areas. Examples include the Pranum Citizens Union and the Domeabra-Owerriman Residents Union. The members of the Asante Citizens' Union, the Pranum District Citizens' Union and the Domeabra-Owerriman Residents Union are treated as members of particular unions and membership in any one union does not grant them any rights or privileges in any of the other unions. However, any active member who joins all these associations get support from each union in times of distress. Extensive social networks are important for business, politics and employment opportunities. The unions act as a source of financial and welfare support. A loan can be given to a member when he needs support, provided he pays his annual dues and fully participates in the Union's deliberations (meetings, get-togethers, and funeral celebrations). Finally, there is the Pan-Akan Children Association which acts as an 'umbrella' for all the Akan sub-ethnic groups. The relevant Akan ethnic groups in this context, are: Asante, Akyem, Akwapem, Denkyira, Fante, Nzima/Anyi and Wassa. Akan culture and language is displayed during

meetings, festivities, and funeral celebrations, whether in Ghana or in London. Akan sentiments and aspirations are expressed through symbolism relating to Akan chiefship. 'Akanism' is stressed rather than regional or sub-ethnic identity such as being Asante or Akyem.

The Lineage Associations are structured similarly to Asante chiefship in that they are both hierarchical and bureaucratic administrations. The chiefship status is comparable to the statuses of Chiefs of Pranum or Asante. For example the Association for Beretuo clan or lineage consists of Beretuhene, Pranum Chief (Pranumhene) and the Asante Kotoko Chief (Asantefohene) along with their respective Queenmothers and Linguists (spokesmen).

The Domeabra-Owerriman Residents Union and Pranum Citizens Union in London are examples of associations based on a traditional area or political district. They have a President, General Secretary and other administrative officials similar to lineage associations. They have their traditional heads termed Chiefs, and Queenmothers (Ohene ne Ohemma). Similar to the Lineage Associations, such Chiefs and Queenmothers act as traditional heads to help organise funerals. They work together in times of acute need for financial help. The officers constitute themselves into a family like a matri-family. If an association member loses a relative in Ghana they will pay part of the air ticket expenses home. Members use both matrilineal and patrilineal relations to establish themselves. They thus present themselves as children of Domeabra-Owerriman. In practice Domeabra-Owerriman Union members have extensive affinal

relationships with one another as there have been cross-cousin marriages throughout Domeabra Stool's history (Kwabiah, 1974). Marriage strategies have changed. The traditional ideal is cross-cousin marriage. This type of marriage is found amongst both royals and 'commoners'. However, a different pattern is emerging amongst migrants. In traditional marriages there are general preferences for husband and wife to come from within the same political locality. There is a belief that successful marriages depend as much as upon the relationship between their respective sub-lineages as the relationship between the couple themselves. Union officers are also concerned with the employment opportunities for the members and also settle disputes between couples and among members. Membership is open to the citizen and his partner (male citizen and his wife or vice versa) so long as annual and monthly dues are paid. The President or Chairman of the union is chosen for his ability to uphold the principles of the union. He should organise the members in promoting financial contributions towards development projects in their home area and be committed to family welfare. Elderly members advise the youth to respect the British laws and advise them against expensive living or extravagance.

As to other modes of organisation, at the time of Nkrumah's CPP government, both the Ghana Students' Union and Ghana National Union based in Britain were strong. After the 1966 coup, however, the government withdrew all financial support for such organisations which led to their collapse. As a result there has been no recognised national

organisation. There is some measure of consolidation, albeit loose, through the Ghana High Commission. Also many Ghanaian citizens, irrespective of ethnic group, are also members of various Christian Churches in Ghana and in England. There are a few Pentecostal Churches which are managed by Ghanaians. Membership is not based on lineage, district or ethnic group but citizenship of Ghana. These Christian Churches have become a main form of Ghanaian identity in that they help members of minority ethnic groups to be members of organisations. Through church organisations, they create friendships which help them to participate in Akan organisational functions and consolidate their common positions as African migrant workers.

To what extent do Domeabra-Owerriman residents in London interact with other African migrants and with the local British Community? An analysis of their friendships give some indication of an answer. Even though some migrants have British citizenship they regard themselves as Ghanaians. From the basis of much personal contact, including interviews of fifty Domeabra-Owerriman migrants, I gathered the following information about people's 'contact friends', that is to say, people with whom they shared time and values. Thus two migrants claim to have Ga (from Ghana) family friends. Five people have English friends. Ten people have African-Caribbean friends (from Trinidad and Jamaica). Five people have Nigerian friends. Twenty-eight others only have friends who are Akans. These latter are of ages between 30 and 45. They find it more convenient to have Akan friends as they have the same language and culture. They came to Britain

after 1965 and have been working and living with other Akans. They are members of both Lineage Associations and District and Asante Citizens Unions. They have been attending the same church services over the past 20 years. Those five family units who have friends with five English families are those who came to England between 1950 and 1965. They are the families of Kwame Opuni Agyei (an accountant), Dr Kofi Opuni (both of these men are married to English women), Mrs Faustina Afoakwa (alias Afuah Asantewa, nutritionist and manageress of post office canteen), Kwame Opuni Frimpong (an accountant) and Kwasi Opuni Frimpong (accountant). These latter two are married to Ghanaians in London.

Akan society its lineages and clans are an exogamous one[19]. The Asante in particular prefer marriage from their natal home which makes it common for parents or kinsmen to suggest a partner for any male who intends to marry. Cross-cousin marriages are encouraged to promote and maintain affinal relations. For example, the first Chief of Domeabra (Nana Amoantwi I) married more than 20 women from six other lineages and had 100 children. By cross-cousin marriage these princes and princesses became inter-married. The third, Chief Baafour Frimpong Kofi Duh I, married about 15 women and had about 80 children. Through cross-cousin marriage they intermarried the Beretuo royals.

Through royal domination of politics the Chiefs had many wives as Chief marries from the other chiefdoms or local lineages. For Asante, royal lineage marriages and the exogamous nature brings cohesion in the kingdom. Cross-cousin marriages gave security[20] to the chiefship and also maintain

the same nton (soul) group among the royal lineage and the patri-children. When one looks into the matri- and patri-genealogies of Domeabra residents, one finds affinal relation with Beretuo and other lineages. Among migrants, marriages are encouraged which are consistent with lineage considerations from a home-based perspective. Through marriage, links between migrants and their natal homes can be reinforced. Students who came to Britain before 1970 broke away from the norms of traditional cross-cousin marriage and made their own contacts with their former girl-friends in Ghana. Their parents were compelled to perform the marriage customary rites. Almost all of these students who arranged for their wives to join them divorced them after three to four years. As different patterns emerge abroad along with new social problems more conflict is created between couples. More often than not the spouses knew very little about each other's backgrounds. There was only one couple who made a successful marriage: in this case the parents arranged cross-cousin marriage. This example taught the post-1970 students' parents to find partners for their offspring from families with whom they had affinal relations. Other students chose partners from those they got to know in Britain during their studies. The rule of exogamy is always adhered to for finding partners while a person is overseas. Parents advise children to let them know in advance whether they have an intention to marry before any official moves are made. For wish to guide their children to respect exogamy. See case of Flavour of Matriliny in Chapter Six.

One example of migrant marriage is the case of Kwasi, a Domeabra-Owerriman resident in Ghana, who came to London in 1963. A marriage was arranged by his senior brother and his girlfriend Adwoa's parents. The senior brother and Adwoa's father met as migrant cocoa settlers in Brong-Ahafo. Adwoa joined Kwasi in 1965 but in 1968 they divorced. Kwasi saw another woman in London, who was also from Pranum, and had a relationship with her. They had one daughter, but differences which they thought they could sort out remained problematic; therefore they separated. In 1980 Kwasi grew very close to a woman nicknamed Mama who was a Ghanaian resident in London. She adored many things about Kwasi but could not see why he has been so unlucky in his marriages. In view of this Mama gave her daughter, Nana Anima, to Kwasi. Despite a great age difference they have had a very successful marriage. This type of marriage is similar to cross-cousin marriage. Mama has a great deal of love and sympathy for Kwasi and regards him as an honorary brother's son.

Another example is the case of Kwaku who married a daughter of Akua in Kumase in 1994 as an arranged marriage. Kwaku and his brother had stayed in Akua's matri-house in Kumase. Both brothers were regarded as members of this matri-family even though the latter is of Oyoko clan whilst Kwaku's family is from the Beretuo clan. There are however affinal relations between the two lineages. Both families are from Domeabra.

When Kwaku and his new wife Abena were returning to St. Andrews in September 1995, Kwasi (see previous example, above) advised Abena to conform to the security of Akan

marriage and to recognise the advantage of marriage between two well-known families, as not only successful but a blessing.

Kwasi: "Abena you will be more successful in life if you make your marriage successful. I am talking from my own experience with my new wife. For acceptance of such marriages get blessing from the parents and the husband." (Kwasi, 12-09-95, London).

8 (xv) NORWEGIAN VERSUS BRITISH DESTINATION IN MIGRATION

Here I shall contrast differences between the Asante migrants to Norway and to Britain.

The Asante migrants in Britain claim proudly: "Aburokyire! Aburokyire! ene Britain" (Literally, 'overseas, overseas is Britain'). For them to be a Ghanaian migrant is to be in Britain. They claim that the best prospect for overseas migration among Ghanaians was to go to Britain. There were only a few known Ghanaian migrants in the USA and Canada before 1970. The majority were there to study.

Whilst in Britain Ghanaian migrants find themselves surprisingly familiar with the political, economic and educational situation. For almost one hundred years Ghana was effectively an extension of Great Britain and was ruled by a similar administration. Ghanaian migrants, like any other Commonwealth migrants (despite harsh criticism of British colonialism and imperialist policy), proudly claim they were part of the British empire and that they contributed to Britain's economic development. On this basis they insist that they are 'here to stay' (Ballard, 1987: 21).

According to Ballard, when minority disputes arise in any country, migrants often find themselves socially, politically, and economically vulnerable, no less in the society that they have left than in the one they have joined (Ballard, 1987: 23). When Ghanaian migrants came to Germany between 1980 and 1986, they sought refugee status in the hope of being accepted as German citizens (Bürgers). However growing support for racist groups led to a mass exodus of migrant workers. London residents boasted to these 'bürgers': Aburokyire! Aburokyire! ene Britain.

At the time when Owerriman migrants in Norway were making significant investments in housing back in Ghana, pressure was put on Ghanaian residents in London to follow suit. However, with the Norwegian government's change of policy in 1992, London-based migrants once again proclaimed: "Aburokyire! Aburokyire! ene London."

Despite new immigration laws with regard to illegal immigrants, migrants in London are often more secure than migrants in other countries. It is noticeable that pioneer migrants subsequently helped relatives join them in Norway. The Norwegian Government's educational policies made this easier. As the policies were based on education it was not easy for anyone with money but no desire to study to migrate. Similar restrictions were not present in Britain. Also, schools in Ghana teach in English and use a system based on the British system. Speaking English is also proves advantageous for communication. Earlier migrants could easily opt for education but now they have to concentrate on earning money.

The makeup of the migrant societies in London and Holland is very similar to that of the home areas. (Migrants groups in USA and Canada [etc.] show some similarity). The societies' members interact in their-day-to-day activities. All these social commitments may give the individual a future social chiefship role as well as a political role. As previously described, Ghanaian migrants living in London organise themselves culturally and politically in ways similar to their lifestyle in Ghana. The situation in Norway however is quite different. In Norway the migrant population is too small for people to differentiate themselves as members of different clans. District identity is adhered to in respect of making socio-economic contributions to projects in their home towns and for the welfare of the members. In general, the identification with migrant societies allows people living overseas to make, from among their numbers, good recommendations for chiefship since people have the chance to get to know very well such candidates.

In London the lineage associations have been very useful in helping family members migrate from Ghana. A clan member with British citizenship could co-operate with other members of the lineage association to invite a relative. It is different in Norway since migration is bound up with educational programmes and is limited to students using part of their study loans to help pay for a relative to study at the International Folk High School. Since early 1976, there was a ban on migration into Norway, but the alternative to migration was to participate in the education programme.

In London there is much to gain from lineage associations as some of the members may be professional men who make themselves available for consultation. Through Beretuo clan association, two members were advised to contact me, since I had just contested for a vacant Stool (see Chapter 10). Since returning from this contest of chiefship in 1995, I have been contacted by two Beretuo clan members, one of whom is a candidate for a chiefship and the other of whom wanted information to support his matri-brother's candidacy. The contests were for vacant Stools in the Beretuo towns of Mampon and Akyekyebiase. The significance of this contact was to help the people devise a strategy to contest their respective Stools. I warned these would-be contestants to have enough money to influence those concerned with nomination and election rather than to rely to use normative rules.

Kwadwo Amponsah, a Ghanaian migrant to Norway, commented during his last visit to Britain that, even though the Ghanaian migrants in Britain feel that Britain is the best host, in Norway, despite immigrants' difficulties in obtaining permanent residence permits, if a migrant is able to get such a permit, he or she will be far better off than a London resident. The reasons are complex: for example, in London, unskilled migrants need to take on many jobs if they wish to survive, whilst in Norway, one job is sufficient because Norway has a high, fixed, minimum wage. (At the time of writing this thesis, Britain is introducing a minimum wage but it has been set at just above subsistence levels). Also,

in Norway, the difference in wages between highly-paid and poorly-paid jobs is not as vast as in Britain.

SUMMARY

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that migration is of central importance to Ghanaians. Conditions vary in different host countries which promotes various responses on the part of the migrant population. Although living abroad, Ghanaian migrants maintain strong associations with Ghana. This is demonstrated through economic and material investments in housing and notions of lineage identity and family commitments.

This is not surprising when one considers that out of the population as a whole royals have resources which allows them to finance migration (see Chapter 10). It is in the interest of those individuals to maintain the idea of the lineage and their position as leaders therein. These ideas remain important in the context of migratory lineage identity. However, this is only one possible point of view from among many. Constitutional, civil, and legal rights are not meditated solely through the lineage. I argue that in the context of radical economic readjustment migration has become the best method for economic recovery. Successful migrants make investments in the home economy. They support relatives and consequently the lineage as a whole. International support is crucial to local political agendas.

In Chapter 10, I shall present a discussion of a political competition for a chiefship in Pranum. Both

nominees were based abroad in the years prior to the election, one in Scotland and the other in America.

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1 In 1983 alone one million Ghanaians were deported from Nigeria. Most of these people proceeded overseas. (See Ghana Local Papers: Ghanaian Times and Daily graphic January 1983 issues). There are 200,000 Ghanaians in Britain alone (source: Ghana High Commission, London).

2 Temporary migrants are post-1985 migrants who travelled overseas from Ghana or Nigeria. They are mostly in Germany, Holland, Britain and Canada.

3 The Greeks called ancient blacks "Ethiopians", people with burnt faces. The Arabs called blacks (Sudanese anglicised form from Bilal al Sudan - land of the blacks) while the Portuguese called blacks Guineans. Snowden (1975) discusses blacks in 'Antiquity', and Meyerewitz (1952), writing about Akan origins, supports the assertion that there was migration of Akans from Egypt in ancient times. See Amin S. (1972) for a discussion on modern migration.

4 In 1742 a section of the Akan people led by the Oyoko lineage left the Asante kingdom and established the Baule chiefdom in Ivory Coast. There were other chiefdoms such as Gyaman and Enyi who also left Ghana to establish independent chiefdoms in Ivory Coast (Adu Boahen, 1966).

5 There were coups led by Rawlings in June 1979 (which is called June Revolution) and January 1981. See Chapter 4, PNDC government.

6 Economic Refugees: The United Nation Convention on refugees recognises political refugees only. There is also a UN decision that encourages developed countries to give 1% of their national budget in aid to developing countries. These countries are therefore not prepared to receive influxes of people on account of economic problems in their countries.

7 Ghanaian residents in Britain have not been assimilated.

8 As there was government control of foreign money circulating through the country, foreign money could be exchanged in unofficial channels for high profits. These unofficial transactions are referred to as "black-marketing" in Ghana. It was illegal yet many people were black-marketing agents.

9 Before the introduction of Forex Bureau Exchange, all foreign money transactions had to be made through the local banks. Any other foreign exchange was illegal. However, now anybody can exchange an unlimited amount of money without going through banks. This is an indirect transaction.

10 Hart, J. K. (1973: 63-89) - Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana. Because of economic crisis in Ghana, people in formal employment have been forced to diversify their economic interests.

11 Apata literally means "shady trees". The Apatam group are those retired urban dwellers and unemployed people who formerly worked in the government service or whose businesses have failed because of the economic crisis in Ghana. Every day they gather together at particular spots called Apatam.

12 Natal Home refers to the village or town where one has one's primary citizenship. It is here one's mother comes from. One has rights to land there and is a member of one of the local lineages.

13 Swish housing: This name derives from the type of houses built by the Swiss Missionaries. "Swiss" became pronounced as "Swish". This type of housing was developed from the native wooden housing system. Soil is processed with water into a muddy product which is then used like concrete bricks to build layers. The builders build a layer of half a meter high at each wall of the house. They build the next layer one week later. Each wall of the building needs about seven layers. Since all materials used are free it was thought to be very economical. However, when the cement block housing

system was introduced, there was a need to modernise these swish buildings by plastering and so they became expensive.

14 Compound houses are rectangular houses. They are built to accommodate all the members of a sub-lineage. Some of these houses contain 4 or more family units. They can serve five generations. In the olden days, when there was war a family could easily evacuate all its members in hideouts. These houses also brought the family together by sharing of services and food.

15 Tree houses in Ghana should not be confused with those built by children in Europe. They are similar to European wattle-and-daub houses.

16 When a cement block is made up of a mixture of ordinary soil and cement, the product is called landcrete. Normal cement blocks are called sandcrete blocks.

17 Money sent to Ghana by migrants is used for certain priorities: 1) housing (which has been the basic problem since the collapse of the cocoa industry); 2) trading; 3) livestock; 4) transport. Many migrants invest in transportation but many fail in this business. The main problem is maintenance of the vehicles due to the high cost of spare parts. Another problem is that since 1980 the PNDC government has made laws against vehicles over

ten years old. Many migrants who are involved in purchasing vehicles which are over ten years old are asked to pay 100 % penalty of the cost of the vehicle plus import duties. This government order affected many migrants. Migrants who are well-established with professional qualifications enter into the industrial sector or hotel business. However, these people are few.

18 Ghana's second Republic: In 1957 Ghana gained independence from Britain. The British crown was represented by a Governor who had some executive powers in that laws passed by the independent government of Ghana needed to be approved by the Governor. In 1961 Ghana became a Republic and the authority of the crown was revoked in the new constitution. The British crown was still represented by a High Commissioner. In 1966 there was a military take-over and the constitution was suspended. In 1969 a new civilian administration replaced the military administration. This administration introduced the constitution of the Second Republic.

19 Members of Akan lineage or clan are tabooed to marry people of the same group. The exception is Aduana clan's sub-lineages, namely, Aduana, Atwea, Aberade where people may marry from the other two groups. The other six clans (Agona, Asona, Asenie, Beretuo, Koona and Oyoko) mock these three lineages as 'shameful clan; they

know their lineages are one clan - Aduana, but yet marry from any of the other two. (In Akan, Aduana-Atwea-Aberade, abusua dapaafo a onim won ho nanso wo won ho awadee).

20 Security of the chiefship: Asante is a confederation of states. In order to hold these states together the early kings married royals from these states and the Asantehene Oyoko royals were given as consort to the most important Paramount Chiefs (such as Mampon). There are therefore cross-cousin marriages between Stools and royals. Incumbent Kings and Chiefs look for political, economic and social support. The history of the creation of certain wing-chiefs shows political relations between Chiefs and princes. Most Asante Army Generals were princes of the Golden Stool. Domeabra chiefship shows the same political relationships.

CHAPTER NINE

DEVELOPMENT AND INNOVATION:

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1940s, development projects in Ghana have been carried out by national governments and non-governmental organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and various countries' overseas development agencies.

The professed aim of these development projects was to improve the rural people's quality of life in the third world. Most of these projects have not been very successful. National planners, policy-makers and social scientists face increasing challenges since local people have repeatedly failed fully to adopt these projects' recommendations and provisions. According to Burghart, development projects can succeed only when they are based on what people already know and when much of this knowledge might in some sense be 'right' (Burghart, 1993: 79-80). In short the values and norms of those who receive developmental aid should be recognised, there is growing concern that the people who need help the most are denied access to the processes of development. I believe that it would be beneficial if the world financial institutions were to see the relevance of the work of anthropologists whose research concerns local people's attitudes and including opinions of government officers and agents. Local people may well have different ideas to developers as to what improvement is (Waters, 1974;

Fogg, 1971; Okpala, 1980; Richards, 1985; Wallman, 1972; Wenger, 1982; William, 1981; Schultz, 1964).

With regard to this present study, I believe that development must be considered from several different perspectives in order for it to succeed. These perspectives include those of government planners, "extension" officers (see below for an explanation of this term), specialists, teachers and farmers. Important issues relating to innovation are dealt with in this chapter. Concepts about village leadership and conceptions relating to fear of failure, stereotypes, communication and feedback, are the Cocoa Rehabilitation Project's (CRP's) main areas of concern (see Wade, 1978: 240).

This chapter explores and develops these basic ideas with reference to various government sponsored projects applied in the Domeabra-Owerriman area since the last war. These projects had their philosophical roots in macro-economic assumptions, and employed field officers (extension officers) who commonly were neither members of Asante society in general nor the specific local receiving community (Pranum). The particular impediments to successful development arising from such project structuring were largely negative stereotypes by which the various groups construed one another's actions, and the pervasive fear of failure that unfortunate experiences with development bred into local farmers. Nonetheless, as time passed, some lessons were learned and relations between 'developers' and 'developed' in Domeabra-Owerriman did improve somewhat because of better understanding between the two sides. Also

many development projects appropriately co-opted traditional institutions, especially those relating to leadership (chiefship).

In what follows I shall firstly elaborate on some general theoretical ideas pertaining to development. These ideas will be a backdrop against which to evaluate what has prevailed in Domeabra-Owerriman. I shall then give some details of the main projects implemented in the Domeabra-Owerriman area, and the ideology associated with these projects. Then I review the social processes concerning stereotypes, fear of failure, and chiefship that had a bearing on how the projects unfolded.

9 (i) BASIC THEORETICAL DISCUSSION RELATING TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

According to Wenger, development planning should be based on some form of consultative relationship between the planners and the recipients of the development programme (Wenger, 1982: 4). Development project resources are, however, initiated outside the project areas. Chambers notes that the dominant flow of project resources is from the rich, urban, industrialised, high-status and powerful cores to the poor, rural agricultural, low-status and weak peripheries. There is very great inequality of status between the bearers of, respectively, centralised modern knowledge and localised traditional knowledge (Chambers, 1980: 96). Traditionally, development initiatives have viewed the rural people as incapable of lifting themselves out of their positions of extreme poverty. They are therefore seen as needing the

intellectual support and guidance of outsiders or project (extension) officers. Local knowledge concerning environmental problems is extensive but has remained largely untapped. In the light of the great differences between the cores and the peripheries in this respect, there are bound to be conflicts of views, conceptions and goals.

It has been argued that "it is necessary to recognise that when capital is made available to an agricultural enterprise in the early stages of development, the stage is quickly reached at which the capital injection will become wasteful unless it is completed by adequate gains in management ability". A key gain in this regard is when 'management', both in its headquarters in urban centres and in its field, appreciates the radical differences between their assumptions concerning the enhancement of economic well-being in rural areas and those of local farmers (Making, 1967: 41).

The context here is that management generally relies on macro-level information, values and specific projects are influenced by management experiences with international development organisations elsewhere in the world. Above all, the information favoured by development is couched in quantitative terms. This will obviously be reflected in the specific disciplines of the management officials who, as 'experts', are deemed to have the skills to impart knowledge to clients at the grass-roots (Briggs, 1980: 103). Economics, and economics-related disciplines, are overwhelmingly prevalent in project management ideas. In reference to this, Wenger states that the selection of an expert by a government

or agency in itself represents a value judgement which can affect the nature of the policies which will ultimately be adopted. The role of the professional legitimises the policy-makers' social construct and devalues the local social construct (Wenger, 1982: 8).

As to local farmers, the basic value guiding their views are micro-level. Thus, as Wenger notes, the farmers' information has to be considered in a qualitative light. Local information sources "are experimental, specific, based on small areas, include a subjective component and knowledge of social and psychological aspects of the situation not immediately available to professionals" (Wenger, 1982: 8).

In the field, project officers rely on local farmers and traditional leaders for feedback on the progress of development projects in order to correct misapplied project intentions and strategy. This is likely to be successful only when project officers begin to appreciate the different assumptions that inform, respectively, their own and the farmers' attitudes to matters of agricultural improvement.

9 (ii) PROJECTS AFFECTING DOMEABRA-OWERRIMAN AREA

In 1947, the British Colonial Administration introduced a Cocoa Rehabilitation Project (CRP) which was run by the Cocoa Services Division of the Ministry of Agriculture. The local units of the CRP were known as "extension" units because they extended the reach of government bodies from Accra into the regions. Similarly, the field officers of the CRP were called "extension officers"[1].

The divergence of cultural attitudes between extension officers and local farmers, relating to the farmers' macro values relating to development, became immediately apparent with the project. Many of these extension officers were not local men and often had no knowledge of the areas in which they worked. The extension officers were advised by British expatriate agricultural experts who were resident either in project areas or in district agricultural stations. In Pranum District, Agricultural Extension Services was established with extension officers resident in each Local Council Area. The Owerriman Area Council had its extension office at Domeabra.

The Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana and the Cocoa Agronomic Stations of the Cocoa Services Divisions soon discovered a cocoa disease called swollen shoot disease. It was found to be the most dangerous disease affecting cocoa in Ghana and according to the CRP, the only realistic solution, was to uproot diseased trees, even if they were still productive. This would have left farmers with dramatically reduced incomes. Most of the first batch extension officers were from the Eastern Region and Greater Accra Region of the then Gold Coast. They were not from major cocoa-growing regions of Ghana, and saw no problem in instructing the mass uprooting of cocoa trees. Local people, who received no plausible explanation for this drastic suggestion, saw them as foreigners with little sympathy for farmers (Briggs 1980: 253).

The upshot was that the uprooting programme was suspended. The catalyst for this was the returning home of

ex-servicemen from World War II (most of whom had fought in Burma and Greater India). By 1948, they had become disillusioned with events at home and collaborated with the nationalist leaders who were demanding equality with British expatriates (Padmore, 1953). Ex-servicemen in Domeabra-Owerriman Area brutally attacked both expatriates and extension officers. Subsequently the whole project was suspended.

The CRP's policy of uprooting trees with swollen shoot disease was reintroduced after 1951 when Ghana gained self-government. By this time, more local people had been trained as extension officers. Indeed, after 1957, when Ghana gained independence, most of the expatriate advisors were replaced by Ghanaians. These people were much better placed to supervise the uprooting scheme. They gave effective explanations of why it was necessary, introduced replacement hybrids and secured the farmers' acquiescence.

In 1970, the authorities introduced a second major programme directed at improving cocoa farming when the Progress Party Government instituted a massive Cocoa Rehabilitation Project Programme in the Asante and Eastern Regions[2] of Ghana. The theme of the project was "How To Grow Better Cocoa" (Cocoa Services Division, Bulletin, Accra, 1977). This project was based on practices which had proved successful in trials undertaken over several years by the Cocoa Research Institute Of Ghana and the Cocoa Agronomic Stations of the Cocoa Services Division. The project planners hoped the findings would help both the farmers and the

extension officers. This programme has been a major subject of my research.

Up to 1974, the net result of the CRP programme was that the policies of the Cocoa Division were not effectively implemented. Instead, very many farmers became poorer because they used what limited resources they had to rehabilitate their farms but got no income during this process. Indeed, they could be seen as victims of the Cocoa Division and the World Bank. This poverty compelled the government to review the cost of labour. In order to alleviate poverty and associated problems, the Cocoa Division employed local labour from the farmers' households and also arranged with the rural banks to give loans to the farmers. This boosted participation by some of the local young people in rehabilitation and also allowed the provision of project labourers to ageing farmers. These young recruits contributed to sustainability.

Over the next decade and more, the CRP's modernisation of the Domeabra-Owerriman cocoa-farming economy - which consisted of recruiting the pre-decided number of 10% of local farmers - was supported by a World Bank loan to the Ghanaian Government. A key dimension of this programme, directed at farmers' problems in finding the money to pay for labour, consisted of direct payments from the CRP to younger members of the farmers' families, which were then treated as loans to the farmers. With the support of extension officers, the project aimed to increase farm management and efficiency. It was hoped that there would be a 50% increase in productivity, partly due to a 30% increase in cultivated

land. There was much praise for the project which followed theories upholding the importance of the modernisation of traditional small-scale agriculture through the rationalisation of labour (e.g. Jones, 1960; Schultz, 1964; Making, 1967). However cocoa trees take up to 7 years to mature, which takes events to the disaster of 1982-3...

The CRP's programmes had to be well-organised and sustainable in order to be successful. The CRP tried to convince the farmers that cocoa farming using the CRP's methods would be a successful option. The CRP's specific targets were raising productivity of small-scale farmers and broadening the investment scope of the rural people by increasing their earnings and establishing confidence in the farmers to help themselves. Approaches having these qualities are often referred to as bottom-up approaches. Emphasis is placed on an approach which is sensitive to the concerns and possibilities of the rural population. Local people initiated plans for which they received funding from the Rural Bank if the plans were approved by the CRP officials. However, the project's control over the farmers who agreed to be part in the project initially proved to be controversial. It sequestrated part of their lands which were then returned to the farmers' ownership once improvements had been made. The promised increased income from the improvements was supposed to enable the farmers to repay the loans they had received from the government.

The Cocoa Division uses several communication channels. Agency policies are disseminated to the farmers through mass media such as Asante Region Broadcasting. The radio messages,

however, only reach a few small-scale farmers as few farmers have their own radios and batteries are expensive. The Cocoa Division also delivers its messages through a network of contacts between District extension officers and the farmers' leaders.

The post-1970 CRP was beset by problems that echoed the earlier scheme (see above). These problems referred to the disparity between the government's macro assumptions versus the farmers' specific local predicaments, and the extension officers' lack of knowledge relating to the schemes in which they were involved.

Thus World Bank capital, technology and management skills are used in small scale agricultural production. However, this capital is a loan which must be paid back with high interest. The grand plan is that, through farmers taking loans, cocoa production will increase and the loans (along with other foreign debt) will be repaid. Whilst the government is concerned with receiving more foreign exchange, it is also concerned with raising farmers' income. In the case of Ghana, whilst the extension officers were concerned with the expansion of production and with farmers' real needs, the bureaucrats of the Cocoa Division were concerned solely with implementation of government policy. Such conflicts of ideas were always won by Cocoa Division bureaucrats at the expense of extension officers and farmers. Both groups aimed for high productivity but the bureaucrats promoted blanket application of farming methods which were often inappropriate to individual farmers' lands. The extension officers were often familiar with the needs of

individual farmers were overruled by the bureaucrats. Moreover, the greater part of the World Bank loan was spent on logistical support and on extension officers' wages. Also, expenditure was made on office staff at the cost of further reducing logistical support for field personnel. Only a small percentage was spent on the actual rehabilitation of cocoa.

That said, a major problem for the extension officers remained the difficulties they had in obtaining logistic support for new programmes. As there were not enough feeder roads, both farmers and extension officers faced communication problems. There were also problems with transportation, water, storage and marketing facilities, All this is background to the fact that the CRP tended to employ staff with little field experience in local production or rehabilitation. The farmers' experience of this, especially their attitude to development as such, is interesting, and will be discussed at length in a later section (see 'Fear of Failure', below).

To complete the story of cocoa rehabilitation in the 1980s, after 1983, the SAP introduced new procedures for rehabilitation. Now cocoa farmers controlled all their land and were encouraged to obtain loans from local banks to pay for rehabilitation. In return, the government would pay the producers the full value of their cocoa. But such loans were strictly controlled. This ran against the assumption that "where a chronic lack of adequate funds had been a major factor in holding back the rate of development there was perhaps a tendency to assume that development could be bought if there was enough money to buy it" (Making, 1967: 35).

A third national agricultural development programme was instituted in 1991. It was termed Ghana Medium Term Agricultural Development Strategy (MTADS) - An Agenda for Sustained Growth and Development (1991 - 2000). Innovations in this project were intended to improve and diversify Ghana's agricultural products rather than rely on the traditional export crop, cocoa. In this scheme, the government of Ghana pays equal attention to both large- and small-scale farmers in helping them increase farm productivity and incomes. Both credit loans and technical assistance are promised through extension schemes, as well as improved agricultural inputs (seed varieties, implements and chemicals).

Thus, under the banner of this strategy, there has been the widespread introduction of new seedlings (cocoa hybrids) under the auspices of the Cocoa Research Institute in Tafo, and root crops by the Crop Research Institute in Kumase and the Crop Research Extension Services, Department of the Ministry of Agriculture. The Pranum Agricultural Extension Services are based at Juaso and Konongo, the administrative centres of the North and South sectors of Pranum District respectively. The Extension Offices are assigned to different administrative departments, each with specific concerns such as seeds, root crops, livestock and cocoa.

As regards the cocoa rehabilitation component of MTADS, the main objective is sustainability. This is clearly stated in the Cocoa Division's project document: "The main objective of CRP is to affirm and reinforce traditional, small-scale farming as a viable and profitable livelihood in at least 20

villages of Owerriman Area[3], through the establishment of self-sustained credit/extension programmes appropriate for the needs of farmers cultivating between 5-10 hectares".

The Cocoa Division's goals are an effective continuation of the Cocoa Rehabilitation Project of the previous decade despite the World Bank and Ministry of Agriculture having ceased to provide further funds. The Cocoa Division was obliged to identify those factors which could lead to sustainability and to reject those which would prove unsustainable without the backing of the Cocoa Division. There are certain indicators for sustainability which the agency seeks to meet when introducing agricultural innovation. See Ghana Medium Term Agricultural Development Strategy (MTADS), Report No. 8914-GH, Vol. 1, 11, June 28, 1991.

In Pranum District, there has been only one major non-cocoa agricultural project, the Nobewam Anum River Valley farming project. This was a project which innovated rice-growing. The Irrigation Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, in co-operation with a Chinese technical team, acquired land in a large swampy area in the River Anum area (map 5). Water is mechanically pumped through pipe-lines to irrigate fields for rice cultivation. Local farmers were invited to participate in this project. Each resident farmer was allocated specific areas of land for cultivation. Information was made available as to the implementation and planning of this project at the village level via extension officers responsible for rice. Local resource constraints and production patterns among traditional small-holder farmers

were assessed. These assessments included technical information, inputs and loans, and were backed by close supervision and farm management.

Again, the farmers' experience of all these 1990s projects will be reviewed in a later section.

9 (iii) PROJECT IDEOLOGY

One interesting aspect of the anthropological study of development is the way in which those charged with the policy and implementation of projects represent the enterprise at hand. In my experience, both top-level officers and extension officers in the field present ideal accounts of the development process. In this section I shall present some of these ideal accounts, describing the attitudes and practices that in fact prevailed in the following section. The first such ideal accounts are evident in the following three interviews which I conducted in 1993.

I interviewed Dr Kwame Ofori (Director of Extension Services Division, Ministry of Agriculture, Accra, November 1993).

Baafour: "I had a discussion with Dr Dapaah (a Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture) with regards to SAP and agricultural innovation since, after many years of independence, our agriculture is still rain-fed and the constraint of weather continues to be a major set-back to our farmers. Some old traditional methods are still being used despite low productivity due to poor soil fertility. Ghana's economy is still dominated by cocoa, and diversification and modernisation have not been introduced."

Baafour: "After my raising these issues, Dr Dapaah gave me the Ministry's programme on agricultural innovation for the year 2000. I am told your Extension Division is greatly responsible for implementation of this programme in the field. How far has your Extension Division managed to implement this programme? Since 1989 there has been complete withdrawal of [government] agricultural input subsidies [following the World Bank's SAP]. How is your office coping with this situation?"

Dr Kwame Ofori: "The Extension Division, of which I am the head, has different sub-divisions working on specific programmes and co-ordinating our activities with our fieldwork extension unit in each administrative district. The various extension units have specialists dealing with each programme. For example, food crops such as rice, maize, cassava and yam are either being developed or we have new hybrids. The extension officers are working with the farmers to introduce them to the use of these new hybrids. There are projects like Anum Rice Farm Project where the extension officers helped the farmers to manage such hybrids and organise them into small co-operatives for selling their products and supplying them with seeds. The development of new hybrid root crops is being researched at the Crop Research Institute, Kumase. For new cocoa hybrids, The Cocoa Research Institute, Tafo, has developed new hybrids which takes 3 to 5 years to mature instead of the old indigenous ones which take 7 years. My Division is mainly responsible for administration and co-ordinating the implementation of the programmes and dissemination of information on research

findings to our district extension offices. Your visit to the above-mentioned offices will have acquainted you with our programmes and how they are being implemented. With regard to withdrawal of subsidies from inputs such as fertilisers, the government had privatised the import of fertilisers and our Division is working with individual agents who can deposit money[4]. Our office arranges for the import of fertilisers on behalf of both individuals and companies and we distribute them to those who have paid deposits. The advantages are that there is no lack of foreign exchange which used to cause shortages and also there is fair distribution of inputs in each region. There is also one major breakthrough: special imports are licensed for specific areas to suit the soil and vegetation."

The two further interviews are with senior personnel closer to the "coal face" of development. The recognition that there are on-the-ground problems with development is at least acknowledged by these people. The first of these interviews was with Dr Frimpong, a researcher in tropical root crops, Crop Research Institute, Kumase (November 1993).

Baafour: "Dr Frimpong, how far have you made breakthroughs in developing new hybrids?"

Dr Frimpong: "Our Institute has developed new hybrids for root crops such as cassava, yam and cocoyam. We have developed new hybrids in rice and maize which are weather resistant. With regard to tuber of yam, we have made a great breakthrough. With the traditional variety, a head of tuber of yam is cut for cultivation (the rest is for consumption)

and after 6 to 8 months it matures into a complete tuber. We have now developed a new species of tuber of yam which can be cut into 40 slices, each of which yields a complete tuber in eight months. We are also co-operating with The Tropical Root Crop Institute in Nigeria so that our research findings can be exchanged and tried in other African Countries."

Baafour: "It seems to me that your research findings remain solely paper-work as I have not heard any of your species being used by the farmers!"

Dr Frimpong: "Well, our new species are now only being used by a few individuals but as time goes on more people will use them. But, with regards to weather-resistant seeds such as rice and maize they are greatly being used. It needs time and capital as small-scale farmers do not have enough money to buy new hybrids."

The final interview was with Mr Kofi Oware, Senior Extension Officer, Konongo (December 1993)

Baafour: "I learnt the field extension offices are responsible for supervision and implementation of the government innovation programme. What is your experience of responsibility as the District Senior Extension Officer?"

Mr Oware: "You have correctly affirmed our responsibility as the major organ of the Ministry of Agriculture's Extension Division. We work with the farmers and we know the farmers economic problems. They have welcomed the innovation programmes but, under SAP, the farmers need to maximise their profits. They do not have enough money to purchase agricultural inputs such as insecticides, new hybrids[5] and

fertilisers. How can we expect a breakthrough in these programmes? We need money for logistical support but it seems the bureaucrats in Accra have little sympathy for our transportation problems, etc. There is more money spent at the headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture (on administration) than there is spent on the actual implementation work. We are poorly paid."

When extension officers in the field were interviewed, their "ideal model" was clearly informed by a UN document[6] relating to extension officers' conduct. Such guidelines are clearly consciousness-raising exhortations, which, interestingly, are intended to acknowledge the differences that exist between project values and farmers' values, and the potential for conflict that such differences engender.

Thus, according to extension officers, one should, in the field, keep much in mind the importance of social goals as follows:

(i) Develop a spirit of local self-help and initiative

(ii) Encourage a sense of human equality

(iii) Create greater and more effective community solidarity and co-operation

(iv) Encourage revitalisation and greater appreciation of local traditions

(v) Help to make life more spiritually and emotionally rewarding for the people on their own terms and within their own culture

(vi) Find ways of embedding improved practices in local society without causing too sharp a change in those

existing spiritual, cultural or social frameworks which give meaning, satisfaction or security to the people (UN, 1953: 330).

Extension officers believed that, once good working relations with local farmers have been established, tangible goals would be realised. The ideal, as they reported it, had four essential components, as follows:

(1) The project extension officers should familiarise themselves with local farming practices and vocabulary relating to agriculture (such as Nnoboa [traditional co-operative], kookoo nhwesoo [sharecropping], dodie [cropping], Opebre [main dry season - November to February], Ofupe [dry season - August to October], kookoo nsihoo [cocoa nurseries], etc.).

(2) University lecturers and experts with research experience should be co-opted to attempt to secure maximum benefits from the projects. The CRP maintained that these personnel had the best qualities for communicating with local people.

(3) The cocoa farmers should be encouraged to develop a feeling of identification with the extension officers due to the latter's working alongside them on their farms. The CRP and Cocoa Division of the Ministry of Agriculture should encourage the farmers to continue the rehabilitation exercise but not threaten to enforce repayment of loans. Moreover, "working co-operation will be greater if the outside expert shuns publicity and lets indigenous leaders receive credit for any innovation or improvements" (Ibid.: 338).

(4) Trained Ghanaian specialists should work with foreign experts involved in development projects to help them feel familiar with their new cultural surroundings.

Some of the ideals are certainly realised in practice. For example, the Cocoa Division sent letters of congratulation to the Chiefs and the farmers for their continued work towards rehabilitation after the bush fires of 1983, and the government gave the farmers high incentives by raising the prices paid to cocoa producers. On the other hand, farmers involved in development projects in Domeabra-Owerriman were afraid that these development ideals" were merely well-intentioned words. This was a reasonable fear in view of the stereotypical attitudes that the various actors in development hold about each other. Reflecting basic social cleavages, such as urban versus rural, and professional versus local, these stereotypes, though changing with time, were generally not flattering. They clearly will have had a bearing on conduct relating to particular development projects.

9 (iv) STEREOTYPES

(a) Conceptions of urban people about rural dwellers

Urban people often have potent stereotypical impressions about rural dwellers. They generally consider them to be conservative, of lower social status and reluctant to entertain change. A good example of this is seen in the conceptions urban people have about the position of women in

rural areas. They see rural women as being restricted to performing domestic services, maintaining and cleaning of houses, washing, cooking and nursing of children. Also, urban dwellers believe that rural dwellers will automatically consider them to be wealthy and will ask them for money, irrespective of kin ties. The following interview with an urban dweller demonstrates these conceptions:

Baafour: "Kofi Adu, why did you not attend the funeral of our close friend, Wamfo?"

Kofi Adu: "Baafour, under SAP some of us in urban towns like Accra-Tema have much greater economic problems than the rural dwellers who supply their own food and own their own houses. But as soon as we visit rural areas, friends and relatives expect money from us. They don't realise things have changed." (Kofi Adu, Tema, August 1994).

(b) Rural dwellers' conceptions of urban dwellers

Town dwellers in general are considered by rural dwellers to be among the well-placed in Ghanaian society. They are looked upon as rich and lucky. Rural dwellers without relatives in Accra or Kumase are considered unfortunate. One such girl, Adwoa, lamented her misfortune, comparing herself with her friend. She was as clever as her schoolmate who, after completing elementary school, had been invited by her uncle to Accra. He gave her some capital to trade with and subsequently she married a highly-educated government official. Adwoa concluded, "if you stay at a village, how can you get an important person to marry you". (In Akan: se wote akurase ha, ebeye den na woanya onipa titiriw aware wo).

Rural dwellers regard the town dwellers as fortunate. Town dwellers wear smart clothes every day whereas most rural dwellers only do so on Sundays and on public holidays such as Christmas. One poor middle-aged woman said to a town dweller "you people do not suffer the economic situation we rural people face". The town dweller replied to her with the Akan proverb "when you see a goat it sweats but, as you do not see it, you do not sympathise with it." (In Akan: Aponkye/ Abirekyie ho firi fifire nanso wonhu). By this, the town dweller meant 'we do have plenty of problems; it's just that they are invisible to you'. The rural dweller retorted "have you ever seen a town dweller asking a rural dweller for money?"

It is interesting that the conception that town dwellers are wealthier than rural dwellers is not always the case in reality. Some even obtain small loans from their friends before they are able to visit their kinsmen in rural areas. On certain occasions they feel compelled to visit their parents, the sick, or contribute to the social occasions (social imposition) such as funerals. Under SAP, many town dwellers have difficulty sustaining these contributions. There are however "certain cases when you cannot avoid your social responsibilities." (In Akan: "Asem bi wote a woyi wani a enyi wohwe nso a enhwe" - this is a popular saying).

(c) Farmers' conceptions of extension officers

Rural dwellers, the Agricultural Extension Officers, and Purchasing Unit Secretaries have very different agendas (Purchasing Unit Secretaries are the people who buy cocoa for

the GCMB). Until recently, the rural dwellers conceptualised the Agricultural Extension Officers as largely office-bound and exploiters of their sweat and labour. Somewhat similarly they looked upon the Purchasing Unit Secretaries as thieves who cheat the cocoa farmers in order to line their own pockets (such an accusation was made by Kwadwo Marfo Ntiamoah, a local farmer in Domeabra in February 1994). In the past (1960 - 1980) these secretaries received very poor wages. However, despite their small income, some of them were able to invest in modern housing - an opportunity unavailable to the average cocoa farmer. These secretaries were therefore looked upon as crooks because they did not pay the full value of the cocoa they bought for the GCMB. Farmers generally believed bureaucrats worked less than them, yet receive lucrative pay and allowances.

Today, there is a welcome new breed of agricultural officers assigned in new roles to improve farm techniques. The majority of farmers - especially the successful ones - regard them sympathetically. Most of these extension officers are Asantes. According to Kwadwo Oduro, a cocoa farmer from Domeabra, they have much better relations with locals. They not only teach the farmers about improved farming techniques but actually help to organise the farmers into project units, participating with them at close quarters (interview, February 1994). The extension officers visit distant farmers and give them technical advice despite problems of transportation. This advice has helped farmers to respond positively to agricultural innovation. The extension officers show respect for the farmers. Farmers are recognised as

knowledgeable about traditions and, prior to introducing any new technique, the extension officers first learn from the farmers. In the past few years, farmers have been more willing to accept specialist technical advice.

TABLE 19

The following tables show the opinions of present-day (1994) farmers about the Extension Officers who work with them.

1. Do Extension officers visit your village?

Response	Number	Percentage
Yes	54	98.2
No	1	1.8
Total	55	100.0

2. If yes, how often?

Response	Number	Percentage
Not applicable	1	1.8
Very often (fortnightly)	8	14.5
Often (monthly)	27	49.1
Not very often (bimonthly)	10	18.2
Occasionally (seasonally)	9	16.4
Total	55	100.0

3. Are their activities useful to your farms?

Response	Number	Percentage
Yes	46	83.6
No	7	12.7
Don't know	2	3.6
Total	55	100.0

4. Give two benefits of extension services:

A: First benefit

Response	Number	Percentage
Not applicable	9	16.4
Visit our farms	12	21.8
Educate us on new farm techniques	31	56.4
Encourage us to work	2	3.6
Assist farmers to work	1	1.8
Total	55	100.0

B: Second benefit

Response	Number	Percentage
Not applicable	25	45.5
Visit our farms	8	14.5
Educate us on new farm techniques	14	25.5
Encourage us to work	8	14.5
Assist farmers to work	0	0
Total	55	100.0

5. Do these officers pose any problem to farmers?

Response	Number	Percentage
Yes	5	9.0
No	38	69.1
Don't know	12	21.8
Total	55	100.0

6. State the problem

Response	Number	Percentage
Not applicable	50	90.9
They look down on us farmers	2	3.6
Their techniques often fail	2	3.6
They give us too little time	1	1.8
Total	55	100.0

Source: Questionnaire

The changes in attitudes to agricultural extension officers are due as much to awareness on the part of the farmers that they need help as they are to much greater sensitivity on the part of the government officials. All the same, the farmers themselves felt that the money invested in government farm projects could have been used to subsidise

input such as fertilisers. They considered many of the agricultural extension officers to be bookish and lacking in field experience (Opanin Kofi Baafi, cocoa farmer, Domeabra, 25-05-94).

(e) The extension officers' attitude to rural farmers

The extension officers saw the rural farmers as people who wasted money on funerals and other festivals but who then complain of having no money to buy essential agricultural inputs such as insecticides, fertilisers and new hybrids. The rural farmers were often regarded as resistant to agricultural innovation (John Kofi Oware, Extension Officer in charge of seeds, District Extension Office, Konongo, 28-03-94). Thanks to this stereotype, whilst the farmers continued to lobby for loans, the government feared that these loans would be misused.

(f) Rural people's contrasting attitudes to local teachers

In contrast to rural attitudes to nearly every other town dweller or state employee, teachers are given respect. Rural people see teachers as social workers who make sacrifices beyond the call of duty to teach their children. Teachers also help in rural organisation and as panel members in private courts. They represent a more enlightened political force in rural areas. They assess the worth of government policies and are often critical of the policies. Teachers can be considered to represent rural people whose lives are very much on the border of outright poverty. They are therefore

the rural "mouthpiece" of the rural people. The teachers regard themselves as being close to the needs of the majority and are more able to act as interpreters between the authorities and ordinary farmers when discussing any new policies.

9 (v) THE FEAR OF FAILURE

The under-resourcing of development projects, the projects' unrealistic expectations of local farmers, mutual suspicion between extension officers and farmers (born of years of negative stereotypes) together lead to a particular social tendency. All involved pursue their own personal strategies relating to development, but this mitigates the possibility of full mutual co-operation. For example, extension officers take an unnecessarily strict interpretation of their job responsibilities. When farmers not participating in a project scheme ask them for assistance and technical advice, the extension officers normally disdain to give it.

In the case of rural farmers in Domeabra, personal strategies relating to development, together with the attitudes to development which legitimise these strategies, all reflect the experience of, and fear of, project failure.

Development programmes have not had consistent effects in Ghana. Fortunes over the years have risen and fallen. The 1982/1983 catastrophe introduced a world of fears among small scale farmers in Ghana and Ivory Coast. Innovations and developments in crop production had seemed to promise profits greater than those made by using traditional method of cocoa production. However success was not widespread. For example,

the farmers in Adeemera area complained that the new techniques of cultivation relating to new cocoa hybrids led to general failure. One informant told me that even though he had used the new cocoa hybrids, he refused to cultivate cocoa in the months chosen by the extension officers. He stated that he had worked in the area for over 30 years and May cultivation had proved to be very much better than the April/May cultivation that extension officers stipulated. The agricultural extension officers stuck with their proposals which proved to be unsuccessful in this area. Farmers challenged the worth of the six month's training the extension officers received at the Cocoa Training School. They argued that the officers' training was over-intellectualised and distant from the perspectives of average farmers.

The basic problem with the CRP is that its ideology has always rested on long-term goals. Thus the Cocoa Division's main objective in the 1990s has been to raise productivity, whilst most farmers, although they value productivity as well, looked for immediate cash returns. Of course, if the project is successful, more wealth would have been brought into the community, improvements could be financed and personal wealth enhanced. It would have allowed more children to be educated, as has been the case in not a few cocoa-growing areas. But resting on long-term hope for the rural community, the farmers were relying on promised high income from rehabilitation. Bitter experience from 1983 indicated that these hopes could come to an abrupt end. Then (in 1983) the cocoa farmers had hoped to achieve independence from the

Cocoa Rehabilitation Project which had sequestrated some of their land. They hoped that the improved lands would give them far greater profits than those made before the CRP, thus enabling them to repay the government while still making profit. In turn, the government would use the money to repay the World Bank. However, the bush fires of 1983 destroyed these improvements, leaving the government with a large debt. The farmers still owed money to the government but had no means to pay their debts. The farmers argued that they should not have to repay the loans because they had been the victims of a failed experiment by the Ministry of Agriculture. This experiment had not been in the interests of the farmers. Due to zero agricultural output in 1983, the farmers could not help defaulting on their debt to the government. These farmers' debts were seen to involve the whole community, since Asante kinship involves lineages being communally responsible for debts.

Other aspects of development projects have been found unsatisfactory by local farmers. For example, the experience with the rehabilitation project led cocoa farmers to conclude that greater success would have been forthcoming if they had been allowed greater autonomy. Many resented being advised by poorly-trained extension officers who, although often well-intentioned and helpful, had no previous experience of cocoa farming. The farmers' preferred solution (instead of being told what to do by extension officers) was to receive training in new techniques themselves (to add to their existing knowledge of cocoa farming) and themselves to receive portions of the World Bank loan directly to pay for

their children's labour input. Then they would have cultivated much larger tracts of land than those cultivated under the supervision of extension officers. In any event, loans to most farmers were very small and did not provide all the labour production input needed. Moreover, such loans, which were effectively lent to the family, did not cover household expenses during the harvesting period or allow maintenance of other social commitments. A significant number of the farmers were forced to use all the other capital they had to supplement the rehabilitation project loans.

A further dissatisfaction had to do with the reorganisation of work arrangements after 1983. Farmers started work at 8 a.m. and finished at 4 p.m. in the afternoon, in line with the timetables of the extension officers they worked with. The farmers had a one-hour break for lunch at 1 p.m. with limited time to chat with neighbours. The extension offices are paid according official hours. In order that their services will be properly used, the farmers have to adopt to the official working hours. Such scheduling constituted a change in working practice that was not what many farmers wanted. In the past the cocoa farmer would flexibly allocate some of their daily working hours to other activities such as hunting and meeting together for palm wine tapping. Moreover, the drinking and other socialising were restricted to evenings which meant that an eight o'clock start the next morning would be unpalatable.

Such experiences, engendering widespread scepticism about development, have meant that many farmers have been slow to adopt new techniques and ideas such as new hybrid

seeds, and continue to rely on traditional cocoa seeds. They say that their forbears were successful while using the same (traditional) seeds as they have now. It cannot be expected that farmers will adopt modern farming methods immediately. They have spent many years cultivating cocoa and no doubt are aware of numerous perils, since their lives depend upon producing profitable crops. After all, formerly, family labour was utilised and proved successful without any loan from the government.

Also, the local cocoa farmers were very selective in choosing agricultural inputs necessary for their needs. They rejected inputs, such as the recently-introduced expensive, quick-maturing cocoa hybrid, which they felt might be a waste. In addition to project loans, the CRP, in co-operation with the Owerriman Rural Bank, provided loans for those farmers participating in expansion of cocoa farm lands since it was the policy of the CRP to boost cocoa production. But many new farmers gave priority to food crops for sale at local markets when expanding farms, since they believed that this would provide greater financial security than relying solely on cocoa, which was subject to major market price fluctuations. New farmers would need a great deal of labour and capital. This implied increasing costs of labour and capital to expand their cocoa production,.

On top of all this, cocoa farmers who participated in trials of new farming methods can arouse the concern of other farmers in the community. This relates to the fact that Asante society is structured on the basis of mutual interdependence. Those farmers who adopted new methods were

stigmatised by conservative members of the community. This is a familiar phenomenon: one value of revitalising useful traditional practices is that a traditional practice in one field is linked by an elaborate and comprehensive network of social institutions with many practices in other fields. But at the same time, it is often impossible to pick out one existing practice from the network and replace it with a new one without affecting or undermining the fundamental spiritual and social consensus of the society (UN, 1953: 340).

No better example of the frustrations experienced by local farmers in the 1990s is that of the leader of Domeabra cocoa farmers, Kwadwo Oduro. Kwadwo Oduro said he applied for C300,000 to rehabilitate his cocoa farm in 1993. He felt such an amount would be enough to ensure good maintenance. The Owerriman Rural Bank however refused his application. He was advised by project leader Mr Otu that the amount he had applied for was too high to be repaid from his net income for that year and that he would not be able to pay the loan plus interest, even after five years (which was the maximum time allowed). Kwadwo Oduro reasoned that a loan below his estimate would not be sufficient to cover his input cost. The CRP worked through the Owerriman Rural Bank in approving loans. Mr Otu made it clear that the bank was not profit-making but had to pay the cost of administration and supervision. In return, the farmers would have to pay these costs as interest payment. Mr Otu also disclosed that the cost of administration and supervision would depend upon the cost of transportation and salaries of the project staff.

9 (vi) TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT

A major aim of development is in identifying relevant local people as leaders, enthusiasts and volunteers in relation to development projects. Such participants are crucial since they constitute the vital first step towards the delegation of project implementation to local people. Through these participants, both the organisation of, and the skills implied by, development projects can be sustained in the long term. So it is that the Cocoa Division identified three main categories of people as essential.

The first are the local government officials who tend to have some influence in the process of village development by virtue of their authority over local welfare affairs. This group includes the District Assembly administrative officials, assembly members, Area Assembly members and Town and Village Development Committee (TVDC) members. The TVDC members draw up development projects for their villages and discuss them with the Chiefs and Elders. Village-approved projects are then submitted to the District Assembly for approval. The TVDC also co-operates with the farmers co-operatives to work with the extension officers on agricultural innovation programmes. The TVDC and the Assembly members give advice with regard to economic and historical contexts, hence promoting the villagers' interest in development projects. The CRP reviews applications for loan from the Owerriman Rural Bank. Of these, it selects some and rejects others. The information provided by the TVDC and the Assembly Members effectively guides the selection of some villages and some individuals over others.

The second basic source of participation in any project is the traditional village leadership. This is composed of a Chief, his Elders and the Chairman of the farmers' co-operative. They freely inter exchange ideas during meetings. The elders within the farmers' co-operative help the extension officers select those farmers who will receive grants and participate in the execution of project tasks at a village level. The Chairman and the elders swear an oath to the local people that they will be honest when recommending any of their farmers for participation in the projects and in ensuring that the criteria set by the Cocoa Division have been met both by the Cocoa Division and the farmers' co-operative members. The co-operative leaders are asked to assume leadership roles through which the major project services are delivered and co-ordinated. The Cocoa Division recognises the village leaders' positions in solving conflicts which may arise and the fact that local people will listen to local leaders.

The third group the Cocoa Division seeks participation from are those local farmers selected by the principal project beneficiaries to deliver services and information to their fellow farmers. These are the precisely the people, mentioned above, who demonstrate the feasibility of project goals.

The role of the traditional leadership, because it commands such respect among Asante people, cannot be underestimated. The ideology of kingship for Asante people is so interwoven with their view of the world that royals are considered to be descendants of the founding ancestress of

the state. Chiefs, clan and family heads are therefore considered to be natural rulers. They are leaders of justice, administration and act as indigenous political authorities. If a lineage member refuses to accept a chief's proposal, it is not only this individual but also his or her matri-family who are held responsible. In Asante society, discussion from different sectors of the people are held before it becomes a law. The Chief and his Elders are restrained to impose decisions which been discussed and agreed upon.

In short, despite established local government administration in the area and Zonal Councils for both town and village development committees, political authority over local groups lies with the Chiefs and clan or family heads. Along with these political figures there are specific leaders for the commoners. These are the Mmeranteehene or Asafoakye (Chief of Commoners). They organise communal work groups, and act as deputies to the Chiefs in organising community projects. There are also ombudsman (omankrado) who investigate complaints and conflicts between the Chiefs and Elders and the commoners. Local omankrado are nominated by the local Chief with the consensus of the royal council and the Elders. These traditional authorities mobilise ordinary people in the construction of rural physical infrastructure - schools, buildings, public toilets, roads and water. These services are urgently needed by the rural community. The bulk of the costs are paid for and supported by communal labour. The community meets at the stool palace or another public place to discuss matters such as building of schools, post offices, health centres. The palace provides an arena for

debate. The town crier is a steward of the chief who announces messages to the public. (This is due to the lack of modern communication infrastructure such as a local radio station). In small villages where the kinship ties are usually very strong, they provide close links between the village members. Face-to-face communication is, in my opinion, one of the most direct and powerful ways influence can be effected. Gonggong (indigenous drums) are often beaten to summon people to the palace in time of emergency meetings. This summoning often takes place after the town crier has already announced a message to the public.

In the context of development, the Chiefs' role continues to be very similar to the role thus played under indirect rule during colonial times. Chiefs are distributive channels through which rural mobilisation takes place. In times of crisis, the majority of governmental relief is distributed through the Chiefs. A Chief works with his Elders who subsequently inform the respective household heads and families of the decisions taken. In 1983 when, as mentioned previously, a million Ghanaians returned from Nigeria, the government appealed to the Chiefs to release land for co-operative farming. Both the family heads and the Chiefs released stool lands and family estate lands to the returnees who formed co-operative (nnoboa) working groups.

So it is that many Chiefs have been co-opted as supporters of development schemes. Traditional leaders, lacking their former tangible basis of wealth (namely gold, slaves and military support) now serve modern regimes and modern leaders. For their part, being aware of the possible

benefits they might receive from the projects, farmers exercise restraint in avoiding conflicts with Chiefs and project officials. They encourage Chiefs to use their influence on the government officials to get the best from the officials.

The major point is Chiefs are farmers like everyone else. Project officers are therefore particularly keen to recruit them to their projects. This occurred in the case of my grandfather, the Domeabrahene, who was very much involved in projects up to 1970. He was very successful and became rich thanks to the Cocoa Rehabilitation Scheme, not least because he could add his own money to the project loans. Subsequently, he became a very significant mouthpiece for project agendas and ideology.

9 (vii) CONCLUDING REMARKS

Wenger (1982:5) comments: "it is now accepted theoretically that development planning should be based on some form of consultative relationship between the planners and the recipients of development programmes ... but the problems continue to arise in the implementation of planned changes."

In my observation, most farmers benefited from group discussion under contact leaders. The loans were given according to individual needs with the understanding that the money would be paid back at the end of the season. Since 1983, good information flowed more smoothly through the contact leaders. This marked the beginning of real co-operation between the extension officers and the farmers. The Rural Bank was also involved in the relationship between the

farmers and the contact leaders. Some farmers were not satisfied with the loans. For example, Kwadwo Oduro considered the loans to have little meaningful input (see above). Cocoa farmers supplemented their income through food crop farming as proceeds from their cocoa harvest were used to pay for the loans. From the farmers' perspective, they had little option but to repay the loans as action was brought against defaulters. Also, defaulters would be criticised by those who had not received loans. In Asante society, debt is treated as a calamity which members of a household are advised to avoid. Most farmers therefore felt compelled to honour the loan agreements. Therefore, although the loans were repaid, this does not mean that the loans were beneficial or a success. Farmers were left without surplus income.

I personally view the present-day Cocoa Division's programme as contradictory to the goal of sustainability. Extra administrative staff, who contribute little or nothing to the amount of cocoa grown, have to be paid for, as well as the Cocoa Division needing to pay back the World Bank loans with interest. Indeed, there is a lot of over-employment as a result of pressure on the Cocoa Division from farmers (who themselves are under pressure to pay back their share of rehabilitation costs) to employ their otherwise unemployable offspring.

The divergence of ideas between the Cocoa Division and the farmers is due to the different perceptions of final goals. The Cocoa Division's principal goal is high productivity in the long term. In contrast, the aim of the

farmers in the long term is security for their families. They do not decry high productivity as such, but immediate self-sufficiency and long-term general welfare are their key aims. The Asante small-scale farmers believe in an ideology of expansion whereby owning more land equates with having more wealth. They aim to obtain this land through mobilisation of family labour. Obtaining more land for his family also leads to the family head being honoured by the succeeding generations who live on the land - which can never be sold out of the family (it can be rented out to others). But support of CRP by the Cocoa Division, without giving recognition to the constraint facing traditional farmers, made CRP an unbalanced commitment. Above all, the farmers needed to develop food subsistence crops. From the beginning, the much greater use of loans, labour and management resources ran the CRP into difficulties and brought impoverishment to the farmers. The 1982/83 long drought not only interrupted the goal of sustainability but also placed further obstacles in the path towards its final target. The Cocoa Division made wrong forecasts since they did not expect such natural disasters. The Cocoa Division did not do the necessary research to find how to best use the World Bank loans. Originally, the Cocoa Division used loans from the World Bank to train and support extension officers. The Cocoa Division expected the farmers to pay for labour and input costs. The farmers, however, were unable to pay for this labour and input (and few people were willing to work as daily-waged labourers, since such work provided no long-term security) and so were unable to start the rehabilitation

programme. The lesson would appear to be: the very parameters and constraints developers impose on the their projects in relation to the behaviour of local people sew the seeds of the projects' lack of success and probable demise.

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1 Local extension officers of the CRP were trained at Bunso Cocoa Training School. The District extension officers were agriculturists who were directly recruited by Ministry of Agriculture Extension Services assigned to each district.

2 Eastern Region of Ghana was the first region in which cocoa was cultivated. The region experienced ageing and diseased cocoa trees before 1940. Greater Accra Region is not a cocoa growing area. People from these two regions could better serve the government programme than people from Asante and Brong Ahafo where cocoa production was high.

3 MTADS did cover all of Ghana's agricultural areas - this is just the figure for Owerriman.

4 Prior to the introduction of the SAP, the government was the sole buyer of agricultural inputs from abroad. These inputs were then sold on to businessmen, who often sold them to people in Togo and Ivory Coast, rather than to local farmers in Ghana, since they could make more profit in these countries (Togo and Ivory Coast use the French Franc, a strong and stable currency. Businessmen

[and others] hence prefer to obtain this currency rather than the weak and unstable cedi). Since the introduction of the SAP, businessmen and companies who wish to obtain foreign agricultural inputs for resale to local farmers have had to deposit money with the Ministry of Agriculture's Extension Services Unit. The Extension Services Unit then buys the inputs and transports them to regional capitals for supervised distribution to the resellers. The resellers then have no option other than selling the inputs to Ghanaian farmers in their own regions. Other advantages of this scheme are that the government acts as an agent (and so does not risk losing its own resources) and, since many people are trying to make money by reselling foreign agricultural inputs, there is always a steady flow of money to pay for these inputs. Hence the flow of inputs into the regions is not jeopardised by the scarcity of the government's foreign exchange resources.

5 Farmers would like to use these new hybrids to maximise their production. However, they would have to pay for these new species and any associated inputs. Since 1989, there have been no subsidies for such inputs and so farmers can not afford to start using these new hybrids, even though they would eventually lead to higher profits than those obtained from traditional species. The farmers prefer to use the traditional species since they

have much experience of growing them and know how to make some profit on them.

6 According to Kofi Oware, Senior District Extension Officer, Konongo, Ghana, the UN document is a set of guidelines which can be interpreted in different ways, according to the type of project undertaken in any specific area.

CHAPTER TEN

POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGES: A CASE STUDY OF ASANTE ENSTOOLMENT

INTRODUCTION

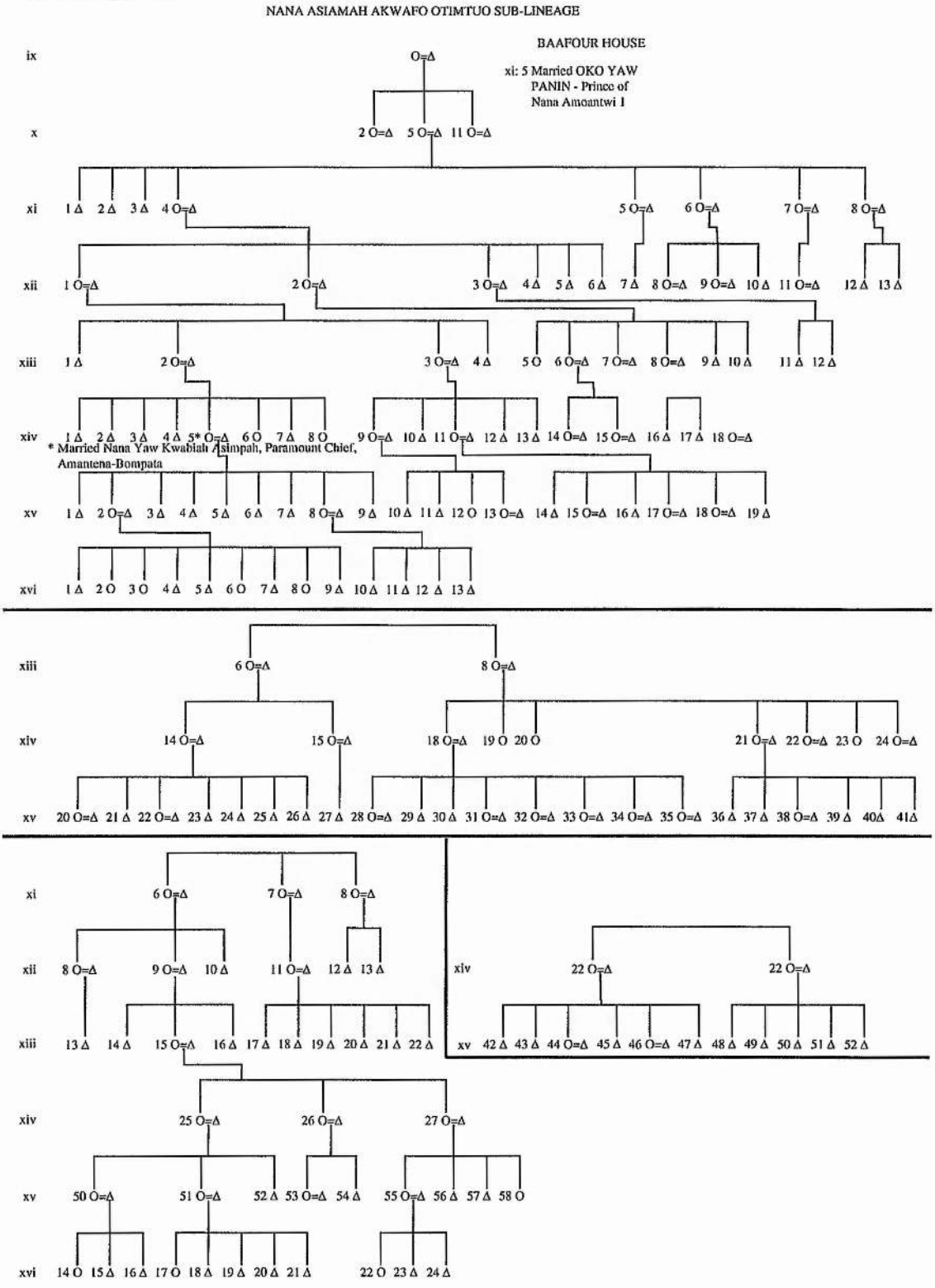
This chapter examines the themes of the entire thesis, namely: chiefship; matriliny; migration; modernisation; and economic change, in the context of a single major event. This event was the election of a Chief for the Domeabra-Owerriman area, in which I was both a researcher-observer and a participant.

The Asante political structure and its traditional democracy[1] have experienced an economic crisis. The World Bank and IMF Structural Adjustment Programme has been superimposed on this crisis. Arising from this, the normative[2] rules of Asante democracy are now being blatantly ignored by rich overseas migrants; pragmatic[3] rules are transparently being followed to win political games (see Bailey, 1977: 5). These pragmatic rules will be seen at work in the political process which resulted in me failing to win enstoolment. Indeed, in this case the departure from normative rules was so blatant that Asante democratic procedures themselves were clearly at risk. As described theoretically by Bailey: "a political structure is a set of rules for regulating competition: if these rules are broken, politics ceases to be competition and becomes a fight, in which the objective (we cannot call it a prize, as we can in a game) is not to defeat the opposition in an orderly sporting context, but to destroy one 'game' and establish a different set of rules" (Bailey, 1977: 1).

In general, I have found Bailey's analysis of political process very useful to make sense of the machinations and manipulations surrounding this enstoolment event.

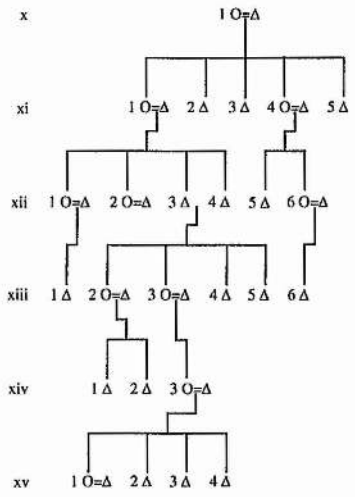
The Stool which I contested is the Domeabra-Owerriman Stool, named 'Amoantwi' after the first Chief to occupy it. The Stool became vacant in April 1995 when the incumbent Chief, Nana Frimpong Boateng B(xv: 36), was killed in a lorry accident on the Kumase-Accra road. Much of the political dealings relating to this succession took place during the period when important players assembled in Domeabra for his funeral. A lot of these dealings were coloured by the fact that he had, in many people's eyes, been a corrupt and unpopular Chief.

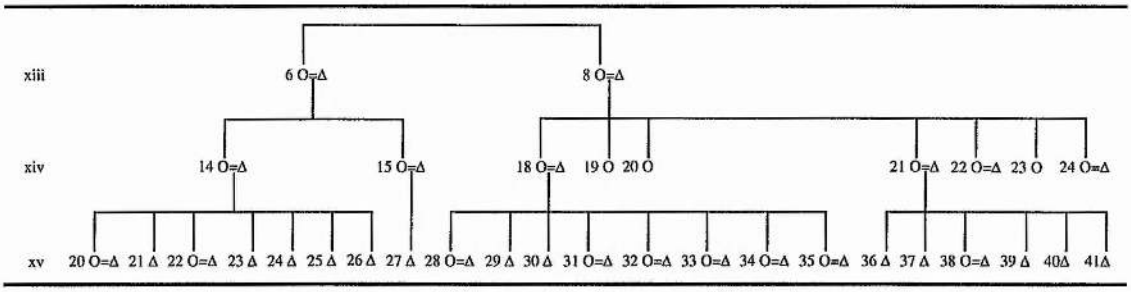
Genealogy 3B

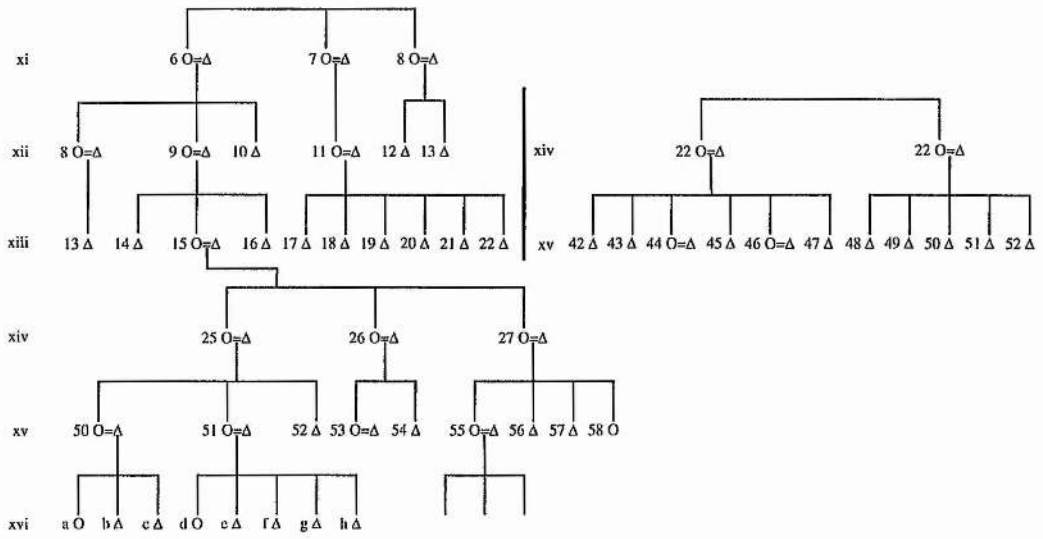


Genealogy 3C

NANA AFUA AKYENA SUB-LINEAGE

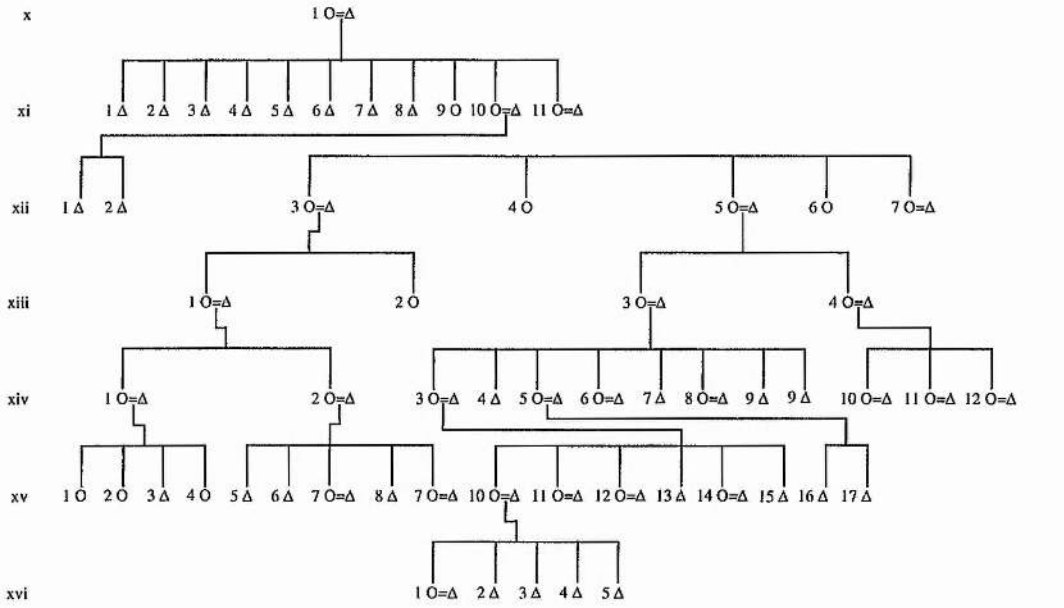


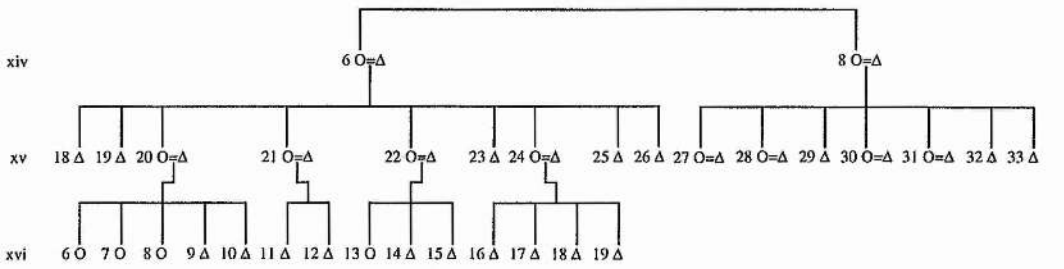


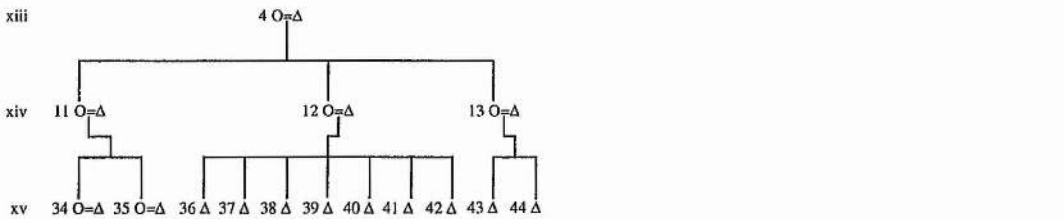


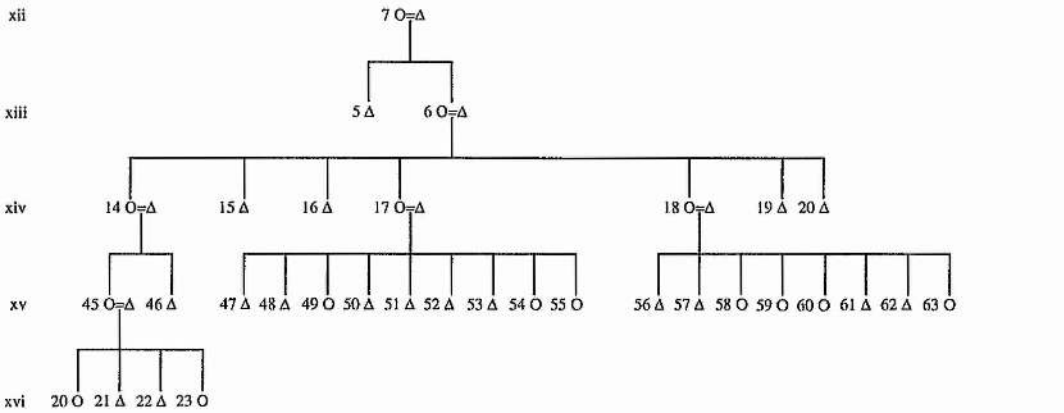
Genealogy 3D

NANA BEMPOMA FIRAMAH SUB-LINEAGE

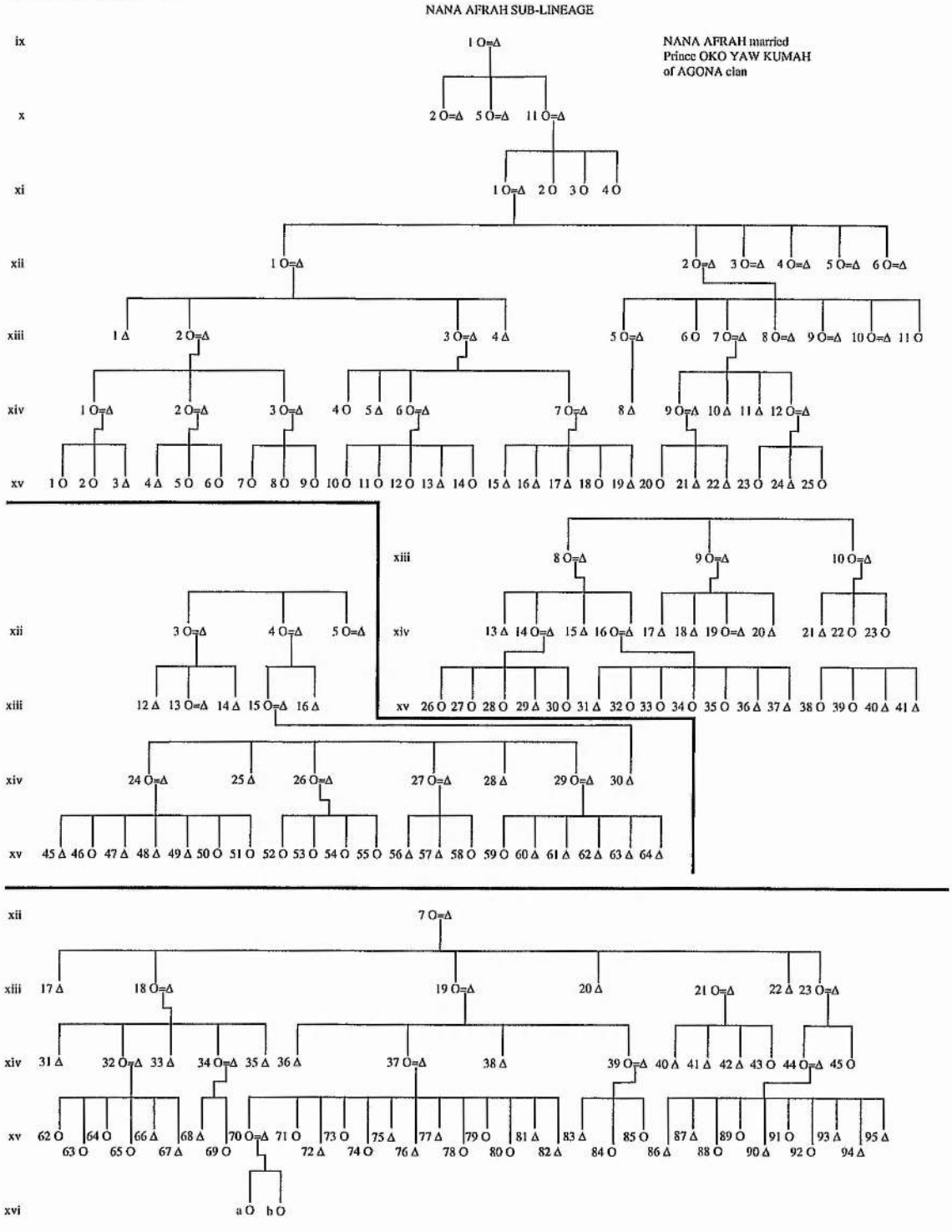








Genealogy 3E



10 (i) NORMATIVE AND PRAGMATIC RULES RELATING TO ASANTE CHIEFSHIP TO SUCCESSION

The royal lineage localised in Domeabra is a Beretuo clan lineage and theoretically any adult male member of this lineage is eligible for enstoolment. The lineage is divided into four sub-lineages (houses): Asiamah (3B), Afua Akyena (3C), Firamah (3D), and Afrah (3E). Historically Asiamah House has provided most of the Chiefs for the Amoantwi Stool. This is my house and also the house of the recently-deceased previous incumbent.

These are normative procedures for selecting a Stool Chief. The Royal Council, consisting of the Queenmother (its chairperson), the head of the lineage (abusua panin), and the heads (elders) of the respective sub-lineages (efie panin), nominate a would-be Chief. Then the Executive Council (Kingmakers, headed by the wing-chief, Krontihene, together with other wing-chiefs, notably Adontenhene) ratifies or refuses the nomination. These institutions' combined procedure entails that the Queenmother and her Council may nominate three times, but both Krontihene and Adontenhene, and the other Elders have the right to refuse the nominations and elect a royal whom they believe is more appropriate. The assent of the Elders is crucially important.

SUCCESSION TO KINGSHIP/CHIEFSHIP OFFICE

According to Goody (1966: 4), elements of election and appointment occur even in the most rigidly hereditary systems, and many non-Western states such as Dahomey, Baganda and Benin have developed appointive procedures in the succession to office. Hereditary succession is found amongst

most "simple" societies, where it is consistent with the general stress given to kinship in the social system. Bureaucratic or appointive succession predominates in large-scale organisations where the demand is for technical competence. Elective succession predominates in the political activities of many contemporary nations which require some measure of the popular support a candidate can muster 1966: 4). Goody talks about relationship between 'uncertain' succession and 'corporate' dynasties (ibid. 5)

Corporateness and indeterminancy in dynastic succession

According to Goody (1966: 24) a next-in-line system is a determinate system of succession whereas an indeterminate one specifies no one individual as next in line. Within these latter dynasties, conflicts inevitably arise between potential heirs competing for office.

Frequently the rules of succession are in themselves contradictory in that they support different heirs (Bemba) and more often still they operate uncertainly in practice (e.g. Swazi and Zulu). Almost every succession may raise rival claimants. Also, kingship may rotate between different houses of the royal dynasty which represent different territorial segments (e.g. Shilluk and Nupe).

Struggle over office may certainly confirm its value in the eyes of both contenders and spectators. Such struggles may lead to organisational changes and structural changes relating to the distribution of power (ibid. 25). Indeterminate succession may sometimes have unintended consequences.

The appointive recruitment of political office is seen as being opposed to the ascribed membership of a company of near equals; in the state, it was the property of individuals that was crucial in their being arranged into a hierarchy of superiors and subordinates. Hence these two structures, lineage and state, produce interpersonal conflict and institutional instability that are reflected most clearly of all in the position of the ruler. Fallers (1956) goes on to contrast the conflict and instability that arise when lineage and state are found in the same political system with the greater stability in Baganda (Fallers, 1956 :236).

According to Goody (ibid. 26) it is not the existence of a lineage system in itself that gives rise to strain; the conflict derives from the presence of a plurality of royals who regard the crown in some sense as a common property, even though it has to be held by one member at a time.

The indeterminacy may act as a constitutional check; as it involves an elective procedure, it implies a set of rights on the part of those who select, and these sometimes include the 'right' to rebel or the 'right' to dethrone. In Asante, chiefship was subject to just such a possibility, even during the most centralised phases of the regime's history.(Goody, 1966: 24:28). For in Asante society any royal can contest a vacant Stool if he has the popular support of his sub-lineage.

The electorate (the royal council Kingmaker [wing-chiefs]) may make their respective nominations and hold an election in a very cordial atmosphere and the commoners may voice their acceptance during the installation, but

throughout the whole reign of an incumbent Chief anyone can challenge the administration if the Chief fails to live up to the standard required of him.

The following chiefship contest which I describe below will reflect on these points. Consider the four houses below: each house claimed to share common ownership of Amoantwi Stool. Here could be seen the conflict between the idea of joint or common ownership of the resources and control by the Asiamah house members causing much greater intensity. In the Domeabra Stool enstoolment, there were four houses: of Nana Asiamah (3B); Nana Afuah Akyena (3C); Nana Firamah (3D); and Nana Afrah (3E). Each house wanted the new Chief to come it and not the others. As individuals have their own goals they draw upon notions related to their sublineage ancestress and manipulate these to achieve their own goals. It could be seen that the other houses did not want a royal from Nana Asiamah house, but in maintaining sublineage solidarity, there was strain between Asiamah house and the other three houses.

The consultation and other processes of this transit period are discussed below. There are also nominative personal qualities for an intending Chief and, by virtue of contemporary economic conditions, these are particularly interesting. He should respect, and have shown respect for, traditional Asante customs. These include the custom that a deceased Chief's successor should secure a loan to pay for the funeral expenses, which the successor, together with the local district, must repay later. The Chief should also be a charismatic person, able, in particular, to inspire people to

work together for the good of the local district. These days, above all, the Chief should be worldly-wise and educated.

These days, the main pragmatic procedures concerning enstoolment relate to availability of money. Anyone who wishes enstoolment must have some money at his disposal, for example, to pay for funeral expenses (see above). However money is also useful as bribes - for circumventing the procedures of the Royal Council and for subverting one's opponent's supporters. In present-day straightened economic times such bribes translate into political power.

10 (ii) POLITICAL CONTEXT 1: MOVES TO DESTOOL THE PREVIOUS CHIEF

The key players in Asante local level politics are wing-chiefs. Often these are heads of non-royal local lineages (which are generally intermarried with the royal lineage) and fill important roles in the administration of local affairs. They are highly influential in respect of mobilising support for, or expressing dissatisfaction of, an incumbent Chief. In 1991 moves were afoot to destool Nana Frimpong Boateng. Some wing-chiefs supported him but others vehemently opposed him. The Queenmother E(xiv: 7) remained neutral; she was about 80 and had been completely politically inactive for about 40 years.

In 1991 the detractors moved towards destoolment, secret negotiations having taken place involving sub-lineage heads. The basis for their concerns related in particular to the fact that the Domeabra Stool did not have paramount status and was losing its status in the Asante chiefship hierarchy, thus causing the wing-chiefs to lose status themselves. The

incumbent Chief's behaviour, since it was contrary to customary behaviour, was seriously exacerbating this problem. For example, he had broken his oath of office by being involved in smuggling[4]. Thus they felt they had no alternative but to sever their ties with Nana Frimpong Boateng by taking legal action against him.

One wing-chief, Nifahene, who had qualified as a lawyer in London, suggested that I was the only suitable heir. He informed my maternal uncle, my brothers and my close friends of his opinion. He enquired in early 1991 whether I would be prepared to take over the Stool. He advised me to work for the support of the Elders in destooling the Chief. I accepted the challenge and wrote a bold letter to Nana Frimpong Boateng B(xv: 36), accusing him of corruption and incompetence and asking him to resign honourably. He did not reply to my letter but it demoralised him. (I found this out from people he talked to).

I followed up my letter by visiting Ghana in August 1991 and calling a meeting of all the Beretuo royals. I reiterated the contents of my letter. My message was a big blow to the myth surrounding the Chief[5]. Because of this myth, people did not have the courage to challenge the Chief. I had a confidential meeting with the important wing-chiefs and I gave them my assurance of financial backing for the costs of adjudicating his removal. I assured them that I was even prepared to sponsor a cousin from Asiamah House to contest the Stool when it became vacant. They made it clear that if I was not prepared to take over the Stool then they would not be prepared to lead any litigation against the Chief Nana

Frimpong Boateng. They raised a number of arguments similar to those of Nifahene. Domeabra's socio-economic development and the chances of restoring Amoantwi Stool to its rightful place in the Asante Chiefship hierarchy were at stake. I had no objection to the trust and confidence these prominent wing-chiefs had in me and therefore I accepted the challenge.

Yaw Sarpong, a London resident who was a royal of Afrah House, took advantage of the new situation (namely that Nana Frimpong Boateng had been openly criticised) and promised to personally finance the destoolment charges. The wing-chiefs made it absolutely clear to Yaw Sarpong that they would accept any financial support from any royal, but that the nomination of a heir would be purely the decision of the royal council headed by the Queenmother. As two royals were prepared to finance the cost of destoolment charges and were also ready to contest the Stool, these wing-chiefs were therefore prepared for any protracted litigation to remove the incumbent Chief. The case commenced in 1992 and was adjudicated through the legal apparatus described in Chapter 3.

These wing-chiefs and their supporters successfully won the case at Kumase Divisional Level's panel of Chiefs. But Nana Frimpong Boateng made an appeal to the Asante Regional House of Chiefs. Nana Frimpong Boateng's appeal was rejected. He attempted to appeal to the National House of Chiefs. However, as he had failed to pay the previous court charges, the panel and the Regional House Secretariat ruled that he should pay all the costs of the previous case as well as a 4,000,000 cedis (about £2000) deposit before leave to appeal

would be granted. If, after 3 months, he had failed to fulfil the legal conditions, the wing-chiefs would have the right to ask the secretariat to inform Asantehene of the destoolment charges facing the Chief. Custom decreed that the wing-chiefs would then have the right to inform the Asantehene that Nana Frimpong Boateng had broken the Great Oath since the charges of which he was accused were actions which broke the promises of the Great Oath (Busia, 1968: 55)[6].

It was not until a week after the deadline (Friday, 03-04-95) that the wing-chiefs seeking destoolment found out about the appeal from the Secretary of the Regional House of Chiefs. It became apparent that the Chief could not make an appeal. The Elders decided that their next step would be to visit Kumase the next Monday (06-04-95) to seek official customary right from the Asantehene to destool Nana Frimpong Boateng. The next day (Saturday, 04-04-95) Chief Nana Frimpong Boateng became aware of the action of his wing-chiefs, and planned to escape on the following Monday (06-04-95) to Accra where he would go into hiding, but he was killed in a lorry accident. Up to then, as the official customary pronouncement of destoolment had not taken place, Nana Frimpong Boateng had remained Chief of Domeabra, despite a High Court order to notify him of his destoolment if he failed to obey Asantehene's order to appear before Kumase Divisional Council.

Nana Frimpong Boateng had, as far as many people were concerned, died under mysterious circumstances since the cause of death was not known until later. As the customary rites had not been performed, he had remained a Chief to his

death and all customary rites befitting a departing Chief had to be performed. People accused him of the 'sanction of ridicule', in that he had committed suicide to save his name from disgrace. Not only was Nana Frimpong Boateng's death a mystery, he also left a problem for Amoantwi Stool. Unforeseen circumstances had allowed him to rule to his death and any refusal to give him an appropriate burial would have been a disgrace to the good name of Amoantwi Stool, the wing-chiefs and the royal family. A compromise was therefore sought between the Nana Frimpong Boateng's supporters (who wanted a traditional burial) and his opponents (who did not) and eventually he was buried with traditional honours.

10 (iii) POLITICAL CONTEXT 2: KEY PLAYERS IN THE SELECTION OF A NEW CHIEF

Wing-chiefs and other influential figures with interests in Domeabra-Owerriman comprised the key factions which lined up behind the several royals who emerged as candidates to replace Nana Frimpong Boateng B(xv: 36); the formation of the factions was much influenced by the positions these respective figures had taken with respect to the destoolment moves.

The wing-chief, Adontenhene, a graduate tutor in Geography at Juaso Day Senior Secondary School and a one-time London resident, had been the key litigant against Nana Frimpong Boateng. Krontihene was another wing-chief who had also opposed Nana Frimpong Boateng. Ankobeahene (a wing-chief of princes' Stool) was a key supporter of Nana Frimpong Boateng. He was one of the elders of the Beretuo royals and

was from the same house as the deceased Chief. This man was made Ankobeahene by Nana Frimpong Boateng without the approval of the Beretuo royal lineage. Nana Frimpong Boateng did this as a security measure to protect himself from any destoolment attempts. A final key figure was the son of Ankobeahene, Nana Akuoko Sarpong, the Paramount Chief of Agogo Divisional Council (Agogohene). He acts as advisor in chieftaincy affairs at the Chieftaincy Secretariat but has no legal right to interfere in Domeabra-Owerriman Stool matters.

The rival positions of the respective wing-chiefs emerged in discussions relating to the burial of the deceased Chief. A strong initiative in favour of a fitting burial came from Ankobeahene. He used his position as 'grandfather' of the Chief to ask Krontihene to call a meeting of the Divisional Council. At this meeting, he made an impassioned appeal to Krontihene and Adontenhene. Adontenhene did not wish for a funeral with traditional honours. Ankobeahene implored them to settle their differences and co-operate to give the deceased Chief a fitting burial. Ankobeahene's position was strengthened in that he was prepared to meet the costs of the occasion. He was ready to admit the faults of the deceased, but wished that they all co-operate to save Amoantwi Stool's good name. This would obviously be important in future political relations.

Ankobeahene carefully and cunningly asked for Krontihene's and the other wing-chiefs' permission to preserve the body at UST Hospital mortuary, Kumase, for an indefinite period to allow the necessary preparations (such as the renovation of a borrowed house for temporary use as a

palace) to be made. Some of the royals insisted that Nana Frimpong Boateng be laid in state at 'Adem villa', where previous members of notability had been laid in state. Ankobeahene rejected that idea and insisted that the deceased Chief should be laid in state in the house where he lived during his reign. Had Ankobeahene not already offered to meet the costs of the burial, the other wing-chiefs would have tried to reject the move as the expenditure would be significant.

The four contestants seeking nomination for the vacant chiefship were Kwabena Afoakwa B(xv: 48) and I from Asiamah House, Kwadwo Asiedu D(xv: 57) from Firamah House and Kwame Frimpong E(xv: 24) from Afrah House. It should be noted that Kwabena Afoakwa was brother of the late Chief.

Whilst preparations were being made for Nana Frimpong Boateng's burial, Ankobeahene negotiated for and received the financial support of his grandson, Kwabena Afoakwa, so that Afoakwa's nomination for chiefship would be accepted. Ankobeahene was looking for a 'patsy' who, if enstooled, would be his 'puppet'. Most people would automatically have rejected any candidate from Nana Asiamah sub-lineage because of its association with Nana Frimpong Boateng's bad behaviour and the shame it had brought to Amoantwi Stool. I was the only exception since I had persistently criticised and opposed Nana Frimpong Boateng's corrupt and incompetent administration. Since 1972, Kwabena Afoakwa had been in New York, USA, where he had been very successfully running his own private business. He had previously responded to financial appeals from his uterine family of Asiamah House

but had alienated himself from Domeabra by not supporting development there. He was therefore not a popular figure in the Domeabra Beretuo royal lineage.

A main reason why Ankobeahene supported Kwabena Afoakwa B(xv: 48) was that he (Ankobeahene) had been caring for the paraphernalia (stool regalia) himself even though he was not the Sanahene (treasurer). There had been a general suspicion that Nana Frimpong Boateng B(36) had colluded with Ankobeahene in this respect. Using Afoakwa's wealth, he intended to buy some of the missing items and buy back those left with other Chiefs. People had begun to question Ankobeahene's accounts of the missing regalia and his failing to perform the highly respected traditional honour of "Blacking of his Stool" (an honour in memory of a deceased Chief in which his name is confirmed in local history). Ankobeahene, along with his son (Agogohene) and others, worked hard to buy the Stool for Afoakwa B(xv: 48), whatever the cost. The Agogohene is alleged the Krontihene, disregarding his customary duty as a Paramount Chief (of Agogo), visited Krontihene and the Queenmother regularly at Domeabra. He claimed Afoakwa had 'apologised' (see endnote 6) as custom demanded in order to be able to contest for the Stool[7].

The other Houses vowed that no one from Asiamah House should contest the Stool. Thus the lineage head, who is also head of Firamah House, arranged a meeting at which a nephew, Kwadwo Asiedu D[xv: 57] (who was a migrant worker in Japan) was nominated by the House to contest the Stool. His House was convinced that since Kwadwo Asiedu had another two

brothers in Japan, he had enough money to influence the kingmakers. The abusua panin also had confidence that three other royal council members had given their support to Kwadwo Asiedu D(xv: 57). As for Kwame Frimpong E(xv: 24) from Afrah House (which is the Queenmother's House), the attractions of standing were the potential gain of personal prestige and the fact that his father was the richest man in Domeabra. However Kwame Frimpong failed to appear in Domeabra once he realised that potential supporters had lined up behind Afoakwa.

As for myself, a significant moment was when I received a letter in St Andrews from Nana Kwadwo Boakye, the heir to the Nifahene Stool (a senior wing-chief). He expressed the problems that can arise when money starts to become important as a criterion for selecting a successor. He stated that both Asiedu and Afoakwa had strong financial backing but he was not sure whether either of these people would make a good Chief. He maintained that electing Asiedu D(xv: 57) or Afoakwa B(xv: 48) would not only be detrimental to development in Domeabra but would also be disrespectful to the Amoantwi Stool. He supported me for nomination. In his letter, Nana Boakye wrote: "As you, Baafour B(xv: 5) are a grand prince of Nifahene Stool and are the most competent person, I would never be enticed by money. I am the occupant of Aduana Stool. My ancestors would not forgive me if I did not support you, my own Stool grandson, for nomination and enstoolment."

Amongst my other key supporters was the Adontenhene who had consistently opposed the previous Chief. In both games and politics a "prize" is culturally defined. It is a

"value", as are honour, power or responsibility. Values both create and regulate political competition (Bailey, 1977: 20-21). My twin brother and I believed that we had sacrificed too much for too long and that we should therefore compete in this political game to win prizes and values we 'uniquely' deserved. However, from within my House there were two contestants, Afoakwa and I. A split in the House had occurred between two sub-sub-lineages. Those who supported me upheld me as the only possible 'honourable' successor. Yet, significantly, some were concerned about financial standing. One 'junior mother' made it clear that the only possible choice in her opinion was Attah Panin (me, the senior twin brother). She had the following reservation: "But would his present status as a student allow him to contest and would he have enough money for the customary rites involved for enstoolment?" Those from the other sub-sub-lineage, who supported Afoakwa, did so precisely because they were worried that if Afoakwa were not enstooled they would lose claim to his self-acquired property.

My twin brother revealed to me that Ankobeahene had allegedly conspired with his son, Agogohene, to use Agogohene's position as advisor on chieftaincy affairs to influence the kingmakers. The kingmakers were headed by Krontihene. My twin brother advised me to contact Nana Akuoko Sarpong, Nana Anarfi Kokooto (Hwidiemhene) and Nana Ti Afun Ampatatwum (Paramount Chief of Ofoase). These people have supported me since 1992, when an attempt was made to find a successor to Nana Frimpong Boateng. He on his part would discuss all the relevant issues with Adontenhene who had been

my strongest supporter for enstoolment in 1992. My twin brother lamented that the other present contestants for Amoantwi Stool were unsuitable. He proposed a method of financing my campaign in the following manner: "My present financial position does not enable me to influence certain developments being propagated by Afoakwa supporters. I was encouraged with my discussion with a very outstanding woman from Domeabra called Miss Akosua Ofori-Mensah. She said that 'if each of the relatives Baafour sponsored to study in Norway contributed £1000 who could boast of being richer than Attah Panin (Baafour Kwabiah)'?"

A prominent technocrat, Mr Samuel Adu of Domeabra, told me in early 1994, "Wamfo, you and Wofa Attah (my twin brother's popular name) have contributed so much for a long time to the young educated people of Domeabra and you, Baafour, in particular have been remarkable in your contribution to the development of Domeabra, in particular the building of 'Owerriman College'. In terms of higher education I cannot see any Beretuo contemporaries who surpassed you in education. It is strange that you allowed someone like Nana Frimpong Boateng to be enstooled as Domeabrahene. You should therefore not give anybody else the chance to gain this position or else similar maladministration may continue to retard the socio-economic development of Domeabra-Owerriman area." (Conversation between Samuel Addu and I, 1994, Domeabra). Suddenly and unfortunately in August 1994 Addu passed away. I made it absolutely clear to my brother that he should do all the

underground lobbying[8] and I would by all means arrive in Ghana in August 1995.

In June, a week after my communication with my twin brother, Adontenhene wrote to inform me that it was now time for the performance of the customary rites to submit my name in the contest and asked if I could send money to pay for these rites. Adontenhene warned that the situation had now become critical. He recommended I act quickly to thwart Ankobeahene's attempt to bribe some of the kingmakers. He hinted that, one Sunday, Agogohene had sent his own car to invite Krontihene to Agogo. Adontenhene emphasised strongly that he did not see any strong contestant apart from me. At this point, Adontenhene revealed to me that Firamah House would nominate Kwadwo Asiedu, despite his total lack of the qualities needed to become Chief. This was because, in the eyes of the other Houses, candidates from Asiamah House were not acceptable to the people. In view of their opposition to Asiamah House, if I failed to stand forward, Kwadwo Asiedu would be the preferred candidate. Adontenhene revealed to me that he had already applied for a visa to visit London in August. Therefore, I had to act very quickly otherwise we would have to meet in London. That would mean he would not have time to complete the underground campaign.

As early the end of June, I had given money for campaign expenses[9] to Kwame Effah in London to be sent to Adontenhene and my twin brother. However Effah failed to send the money which puzzled me. Later, I found out from Adontenhene that Kwame Effah had been one of Afoakwa's agents and was afraid that, with the support I had, I would command the resources

necessary for any amount of lobbying. Effah's main intention was that I did not have money. He believed that unless he stopped my supporters receiving this money, Afoakwa's agents would not be able to combat my campaign. The money was given back to me when I was about to leave for Ghana in August. The non-arrival of this money meant that Adontenhene was unable to carry out important preparatory business in Ghana.

10 (iv) MOBILISING A TEAM

As Bailey notes (1979: 25), political contests are especially motivated by the contestant's core supporters. Some of these supporters are bound by obligation to the contestant: for example, my brother and other close matri-relatives support me because of the ascriptive social relationship that obtains. Other supporters are 'achieved', that is to say they are recruited on the strength of the contestant's political performance and the benefits his success is likely to deliver. In respect of the latter category of supporters, the contestant may have much work to do. My relations with Adontenhene, Nifahene and Agogohene indicate this very well. I shall discuss them first.

Adontenhene was my staunchest supporter, which relates to my alliance with him in opposition to the previous Chief. Whilst in Britain, I received messages through letters from him offering advice and imparting information from Ghana. I also visited him in London (12th August 1995) where he discussed possible strategies to strengthen my position in the competition and thwart moves by Afoakwa and Asiedu's supporters. Before leaving for London, he warned Krontihene

to refrain from being influenced by Agogohene and Afoakwa's 'contractors'. He also revealed to me that another London resident, my matri-brother, Kwame Frimpong (from Afrah House) had shown an interest in contesting the Stool. His last message was that 'a bold and straight-forward approach should not only make those dubious contractors falter but should also dismantle their underground support'.

At the meeting with Adontenhene, I also met his wife (Yaa Tabuah, who is my matri-sister) and her brother, Kwabena Frimpong. They accompanied me to meet our sister Akosua Etaah Akyeampong. They were happy I was planning to contest the Stool, especially in the light of the candidates thus far contesting. My last instruction to her was: "Sister Yaa, be in constant telephone contact with my wife as my only sorrow is leaving her alone. I assure you the battle would not be lost for my God and our ancestors are on my side. If anybody tries to usurp power with money he will waste over $30,000 but will not remain on the Stool more than five years". I may also mention here that I spent that night at my brother Kwame Asare's house which was in West Norwood. This was unusual. A candidate has to show his independence - and relying on my brother's hospitality would have shown dependence on him. Due to lack of time, I asked my matri-sister Afua Asantewah to meet me there at 9pm. She was the representative for the Queenmother and sympathetic to my aspirations: hence my need to meet her. We met at 9pm and Afua Asantewah informed me as to who was supporting which candidate. She encouraged me not to despair at the bribery and corruption taking place but to be ready to pay for all traditional lobbying and customary

pay for all traditional lobbying and customary rites. The next day I flew to Accra, arriving there on 14th August 1995.

As for Nifahene, I had already followed my brother's advice that I should write from Britain to him and other influential people. Accordingly, I wrote to them to disclose my intention to contest Amoantwi Stool, to restore it to its proper position in the Asante chiefship hierarchy and to rebuild Domeabra. I denounced the way people were now using money to usurp offices for themselves whilst, for many years, these contestants had not made any contributions to Amoantwi Stool or to socio-economic development in Domeabra. I warned all those involving themselves in Domeabra Stool's affairs for their own selfish ends, without serious consideration of the future of Domeabra (namely, those who had no official role in this election), to keep out and stated that I was the most competent person qualified to be enstooled as Domeabrahene.

Nifahene replied to my letters and reiterated his absolute support for my enstoolment. He emphasised that it was high time an educated candidate be chosen. He mentioned the time and money I had spent, not only on Amoantwi Stool but also on educational development in Domeabra. He rejected any nomination which was tainted by accounts of bribery in any form. However, whether Nifahene's promise would be honoured yet remained to be seen.

Agogohene had also received my letter. I had, however, telephoned him earlier about my intentions. Agogohene blamed me for not having shown interest during the two months the Stool had been vacant. He complained that, as a result, he

had involved himself too heavily in Kwabena Afoakwa's campaign. He unwillingly said that when I came to Ghana he would try to reach a compromise, as he had already received money from Afoakwa. Agogohene was neither a member of Domeabra's kingmakers or of Beretuo royal council. As a patri-son of Ankobeahene he could only help towards peaceful enstoolment.

The Adontenhene advised me that I should confront Agogohene when I arrived in Ghana. For Agogohene by his nature like me, would never hide anything from me. So I visited Agogohene on 16th August 1995, after first visiting my brother, on 15th August, as tradition demanded (see below). Our conversations were direct and not tape- recorded but were reconstructed as dialogue after the event.

Baafour: "Nana, I have already told you on the telephone and also in writing about my intention to contest the nomination of heirship to Amoantwi Stool."

Agogohene: "Attah, when you went to Europe at least you bought a special cloth for me. But it was only when Afoakwa wanted to contest for the kingship that he bought me a set of tennis racquets and balls. He does not come to me directly to ask for my support. My cousin, Osei Kofi, has been helping me financially and it is he who has been used to solicit my help. Osei Kofi expressed Afoakwa's interest in contesting the Stool on account of his having money to rehabilitate Amoantwi Stool. As I had not heard from you, I thought it reasonable to support Afoakwa so that the Stool remains in my father's House."

Baafour: "I have not abandoned my interest in taking over Amoantwi Stool. As you may be aware I am at present writing my PhD thesis. I am therefore very busy. But all the same I have good contacts with Adontenhene. I have been informed that one Sunday, you invited Domeabra's Krontihene to Agogo in order to influence him to support Afoakwa's nomination. Do you remember when Nana Amoantwi II was made to retire from chiefship because of old age? Do you remember that Asiamah House unanimously supported wofa [uncle] Kwame Nti as their nominee to contest the Amoantwi Stool? Do you remember that, in order to show our support, the respected lady Nana Adwoa Adem (who is my grandmother and your aunt) sent me to join you in Cape Coast to contribute money to your father's House in support of Kwame Nti?"

Agogohene: "Yes I do remember."

Baafour: "Do you remember that in company with your sister, Agnes Twum, you travelled a long way from Cape Coast to Domeabra to persuade your father to support the family nominee? At the same family meeting, you asked Kwame Boateng (who was later enstooled as Nana Frimpong Boateng) to support our uncle Kwame Nti's nomination?"

Agogohene: "Once again agreed."

I then said, "Do you remember, despite your appeal, your father was adamant and you warned him of the danger of Kwame Boateng being enstooled and that you would refuse to attend any invitation from your father if any problems arose."

Agogohene: "Attah you are perfectly correct, I do not dispute any of your questions."

Baafour: "In Asiamah House, my twin brother and I are the only royals in the House who could seriously make Amoantwi Stool what it should be. Apart from us, the third brother is Kwaku Kwarteng Agyekum. Because of my brother's physical health and my present academic work, I earlier recommended Kwarteng for nomination. But I was told he was no longer interested in chieftaincy matters because of his present conservative religious beliefs."

Agogohene: "Maybe he has no money."

Baafour: "Nana, is money the only criteria on which to nominate a royal for enstoolment?"

Agogohene: "Not at all. It is absolutely incorrect."

Baafour: "Nana, the deceased Chief, Nana Frimpong Boateng, disclosed to me that your father Ankobeahene is the most notoriously wicked royal in the family (In Akan, Nana Kwame Opuni alias Kwame Nimo, adehyee yi nyinaa woye nipa bone paa). You were aware of Nana Frimpong Boateng's most disgraceful behaviour as the occupant of Amoantwi Stool. Ankobeahene complained of his behaviour to me. In view of the good name of Amoantwi Stool and the retrogression of Domeabra's socio-economic development, I supported his destoolment. I was the main contributor to the cost of litigation. Nana, I am a prince of Amantena Aduana Stool. I am therefore a prince of Agogo Aduana Stool. I am also the most knowledgeable royal, of not only about Domeabra Stool's history but also Pranum Stools. I have the qualities to be enthroned." After my speech Agogohene was moved.

Agogohene: "Nobody can help Asante-Akyem more than you, no doubt about it, so if you get the chance to join me it will

be good. (In Akan, 'Obiara nni ho a obetumi aboa Asante-Akyem asene wo, enti wobeka me ho anka eye). If you had been here a month earlier, I would not have accepted Afoakwa's money. I needed money for a purpose and Osei Kofi came and gave me money to support Afoakwa. You should pass your 'apology' through the normal traditional channel. I am financially bound to Afoakwa. If you can refund his money I shall give him back his money and render my support to you." I thanked him for this.

Such conversations and meetings with the interest of Adontenhene, Nifahene, and Agogohene were supplemented by much further political activity. An interesting episode occurred, in Tema, on the 15th August, when I visited the popular spot of "Wofa Chop Bar" in front of which were shade trees called 'Apatam'. Here I was to meet the 'Apatam' people, an informal gathering of retired officials of all sorts of categories, particularly civil servants, army officers and police constables. Collectively, they have broad experiences of socio-economic and political development in Ghana. They often meet to discuss government policies, in particular the effects of SAP. They like to discuss individual problems and how to advise individuals and, at times, they act as an informal advisory committee. Here I met my Beretuo brother Sgt. Gyimah of Babiru House, Mampon's Beretuo lineage. (Mampon is the capital city of Mampon Divisional Council). He had had extensive experience in contesting Beretuo Stools and told me about the controversial nomination of a certain technocrat for Mampon's Stool on account of his strong financial position. This nomination and

enstoolment in 1990 brought protracted litigation. The Chief-elect lost these cases, not only in the Regional House of Chiefs but also in the National House of Chiefs. Botase and Babiru Houses had maintained that the technocrat Chief-elect was not a Beretuo royal but that his ancestor was adopted by the Beretuo lineage. According to Sgt Gyimah, the abusua panin and the Queenmother recommended this technocrat for nomination on account of his money and educational background. However, the rules of Asante traditional democracy allowed some royals to challenge this nomination. He made his final appeal to the Supreme Court of Ghana. This appeal was also rejected and he was destooled. Sgt. Gyimah reiterated that Domeabra's kingmakers should have learnt their lesson about rich candidates and the confusion which surrounds money. He encouraged me to fight on since it would be a very serious mistake if the people passed me by in favour of someone who lacked the qualities that chiefship demanded. Sgt. Gyimah claimed my enstoolment would be a great benefit to the entire Beretuo clan.

Also present on this occasion was a Beretuo brother from Domeabra's Firamah Beretuo sub-lineage. A retired bank manager, Kofi Adu, was a friend of my twin brother and I at Prempeh College. Because of our good brotherly relationship, we were considered triplets. Also our good relationship meant that he knew my twin brother and me better than any one else. He narrated the anger their House felt towards Afoakwa's nomination. He was however frank and honest enough to comment on the qualities of the Firamah House nominee, Kwadwo Asiedu. He also lamented about the Asiamah House's candidate: "We are

not fools. Where was Afoakwa when his brother was corrupting and mismanaging Amoantwi Stool affairs? When his brother was poor and was indulging in most disgraceful acts, where was Afoakwa? Now that Nana Frimpong Boateng is dead, Afoakwa boasts of being rich. Can he alone use his money to develop Domeabra without the support of Domeabra citizens? Can his supporters prove any contribution by Afoakwa towards projects in Domeabra development? All this when not so long ago his brother could not even feed himself, his wife and children. Afoakwa was never seen then but now that Nana Frimpong Boateng is dead and because he wants to be enstooled he proposes a befitting burial".

The Apatam people predicted danger if this royal was to usurp power through bribery and corruption. Kofi Adu stated that the Elders should not have tolerated Afoakwa and, since they were tolerating him, it was obvious that Elders were being bribed. This news, however, did not deter me from fighting to the last moment of the contest. I made it clear that to usurp power through bribery would cost about $30,000.

My close kinsfolk were, of course, assured of supporting me. Moreover, they could be relied upon to introduce me to their respective associates. The key figure here is my twin brother who welcomed me to his house when I returned to Ghana in August 1995. As tradition demanded, my brother asked me about my mission to Ghana. My brother informed me of details surrounding Nana Frimpong Boateng's death and of preparations to bury him. We then discussed my participation in the burial and my position in the contest for the Amoantwi Stool. My twin brother gave me a lot of information about interference

in the affair by outsiders, such as Agogohene and his cousin, Kofi Osei, who were acting as paid contractors. He also mentioned that whilst our uncle, Kofi Baafi B(xiv: 7) and matri-nephew, Kofi Amoako Gyampah C(xv: 2), were solidly behind me, they had maintained a low profile throughout all the campaigning. They had confidence that my presence would turn the situation to my favour. The one major problem was the widespread belief that the successor should be prepared to pay all the huge expenses of the funeral and the rehabilitation of the Stool. I told my brother this rumour was malicious propaganda to influence people to support Afoakwa. I knew Asante custom and I knew the cost is usually paid by all the subjects of the Stool and the would-be Chief. (Through this custom, presumably, promotes social cohesion and the authority of the Stool. A Chief will need to please his people in order to receive this "golden handshake".) The unnecessary expenses of rehabilitation of the 'borrowed house', which was now being used as a palace, and the five month's mortuary charge were the direct responsibility of Afoakwa and Ankobeahene. My major expenses would be the 'swearing-in ceremony' to Domeabra-Owerriman traditional area and the last swearing of an oath to Asantehene. My brother then advised me to explain these issues to our sibling brothers and sisters in order that they would understand the propaganda.

Accordingly, I despatched a messenger to inform my uncle Kofi Baafi and my matri-brother Kofi Amoako Gyampah that I wished to meet them in Kumase the following Wednesday (16/08/95). I also visited my patri-brothers, Warrant Officer

Attah-Boadu Kwabiah and Dr Kwadwo Kwabiah (who was administrative secretary in the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana) to inform them of my ambition to contest the Amoantwi Stool. They too gave me their support.

Kofi Baafi B(xiv: 7) and Kofi Amoako Gyampah C(xv: 2) were very much relieved that I would be running for election, otherwise I would have let many supporters down. They assured me they would gather all my supporters together, particularly those who had doubted my coming. My uncle and brother pointed out that the main problem lay with the Krontihene who, it was suspected, had been bribed through Agogohene. Kofi Baafi and Kofi Amoako Gyampah said they would be very hard on Krontihene, since it was an attempt by the deceased Chief to destool Krontihene that had cost the Elders so much money. He did not pay anything which implied that those royals who were able to finance the cost of litigation were the obvious choices. They advised me to introduce myself to some important people in Kumase and proceed to Domeabra and my preparations would then be in place.

My second main task was to meet some lineage brothers and friends from Domeabra to get their support. These people included Barima Yaw Frimpong, who was my brother, a great friend and a businessman (he owned a hardware store in Kumase). He was crucial to help solicit the support of his three cousins: Inspector Kwadwo Agyekum (a retired officer, Ghana Police Service); Colonel Opuni Mensah (a retired Ghana Army Garrison engineer and a one-time Kumase City Council Chairman); and their sister, Akosua Ofori-Mensah (a writer and publisher). They were important politically because they

numbered amongst the grand (patrilineal) princes and princess of Amoantwi Stool. They had made important contributions to Domeabra's socio-economic development. In terms of affection, we were recognised more as brothers and sister than patri-cousins. Barima Yaw Anarfi Frimpong was a contemporary of my twin brother and me. We had many things in common apart from 'marriage' (i.e. we recognised ourselves as siblings). I could therefore not embark on any serious ambition without his support. He was to become one of my most important connections in Kumase.

Barima Yaw Frimpong commented that we would no longer allow anybody to deceive the people as Nana Frimpong Boateng had. He said "my financial position is not as it was in the 1960s and 1970s. We should solicit the support of Opoku Manwere to prevent these inexperienced people from buying the Stool. It would be an insult to citizens who have Domeabra at heart" (Barima Yaw Anarfi Frimpong, August 1995, Kumase). Colonel Opuni Mensah said: "When God blesses you with a position, you do not need to bribe. How else could I become the chairman of Kumase City Council?"

Barima Yaw Frimpong accompanied me in visiting many important people, notably certain personalities in the chieftaincy hierarchy in Kumase. This led me to Opoku Manwere's residence in the early morning of August 18-95. Our main aim here was to solicit Opoku Manwere's moral and financial support for any occasion that the might arise. Opoku Manwere was also to join us to visit a number of Chiefs.

Opoku Manwere asked what sort of help I might need. I told him that I would be able to foot all the cost of customary rites expenses. These included giving drinks to traditional leaders. I would have to present a token of a bottle of schnapps to some of the leaders and an additional amount of around 50,000 cedis (about £25) to others. This was a sign of respect, and at times the recipient pours libation to call for ancestral blessing. This token is not a bribe but the customary way of introduction.

Opoku Manwere said "Attah, I do appreciate the honour and respect you have given me. This is proof of the confidence you have in me. I know surely that with your high education and experience you could do a lot for Amoantwi Stool. Secondly, I know your twin brother could be a good counsellor in your local administration. Thirdly, you and your brother have good relations with almost all the intellectuals and business citizens of Domeabra. Fourthly you will have an extensive following available from your numerous patri-family from Amantena traditional area. They will be very supportive to your reign. Attah, I am not boasting, I doubt very much if Afoakwa is richer than me or whether it is possible for one individual alone to have enough money or be prepared to use his money for socio-economic development of Domeabra. I have also not heard of Afoakwa being involved in social mobilisation as you and your brother have been since your secondary school. I have some legal right to contest Amoantwi Stool but in this modern Ghana we must find the most competent person to be Chief. An effective leader may be able

to make the name of Domeabra important once again and lead the people in socio-economic development."

Sure of financial support in times of need, Barima Yaw Frimpong, Opoku Manwere and I visited Baafour Osei Akoto to introduce ourselves and inform him of my intention to contest Amoantwi Stool. Baafour Osei Akoto is Asantehene's senior linguist (Okyeame). I had first met him in 1990 in Norway when he visited his matri-grand children. We solicited his help in introducing us to important figures. We also asked him to educate us about the nomination of royals and the acceptance and enstoolment by kingmakers. He strongly advised us to look carefully at the situation in Domeabra with regards to nomination by the royal council.

Barimah Frimpong and I visited Manhyia Palace and met Ofoasehene and Oboguhene (a South Pranum Paramount Chief). Here Ofoasehene re-introduced me to Baafour Osei Akoto despite our recent visit to his house. These were, however, more formal circumstances. Ofoasehene introduced me to the Registrar of the Regional House of Chiefs. Ofoasehene also informally introduced me to some Chiefs of Kumase's Ankobea group such as Atenehene and Anamenakohene (who had a chiefship relation with Amoantwi Stool). We then visited Nana Kwabena Amoako, Agonahene (Chief of Agona lineage) of Domeabra. He was a businessman in Kumase. He assured us of his support and promised to formally introduce the Atenehene to us the next Tuesday. The meeting took place as planned. Dr Opoku, the Atenehene, also advised us to be careful as we made our plans in Domeabra.

In the evening of the same day, Barimah Anarfi Frimpong, Kofi Duh Ampem, Opoku Manwere and I revisited Ofoasehene, now at his personal residence, Patase, in Kumase, for discussions and to officially introduce some important Kumase wing-Chiefs to me. This was arranged through Ofoasehene's status as Omanhene. We discussed broadly the dubious underground attempts by Agogohene and others to bypass the Beretuo royal council and usurp power on behalf of Afoakwa. We arranged a timetable so as to meet regularly.

It has finally to be noted that not all close kin supported me. My senior matri-brother, Kwabena Kyei-Mensah, was a transport owner in Kwadaso, Kumase. Kwaku Frimpong, a younger matri-brother, was a storekeeper and proprietor of a beer bar, and his sibling senior sister, Adwoa Serwah, was a London resident who was by then in Kumase.

Kwabena Kyei-Mensah said: "Attah, in terms of politics and good administration nobody surpasses you. But at present I am not in a financially secure position to give you support. Those who are contesting are ignoring tradition which demands the nomination of good leader. People would be influenced by money."

Kwaku Frimpong asked, "Do you have money to contest the Stool?"

I replied, "I am not asking any brother for money. I am asking my own uterine brothers for moral support."

I could see Frimpong and Serwah were, for reasons unknown to me, in the Afoakwa camp. I also met my junior sibling brother, Kwabena Appiah-Kwabiah, to explain my

position to him, even though he knew my stand that 'charity begins at home'.

10 (v) CONFRONTATIONS AND SUBVERSIONS

The stuff of political contest, once teams have been established, is 'confrontations' and 'subversions'. The first refers to shows of strength by respective teams in the form of messages which "the receiver has no option but to receive and act upon" (Bailey, 1977: 104). A subversion refers to the destabilisation of one's opponents' team, perhaps by making the target an offer they cannot refuse (ibid: 92). Appropriate confrontation saw the withdrawal of Kwadwo Asiedu from the contest; meanwhile Afoakwa's team set about subverting my supporters.

Asiedu's House was more united than the other Houses. In my opinion, their only mistake was in supporting Kwadwo Asiedu, who was semi-literate. This is not suitable for a Chief in modern-day Ghana. Asiedu's background demonstrated his inexperience. He had had little education, no experience of politics and had until now only been a small trader. People who knew Kwadwo Asiedu in Ghana did not recommend him for any political office. There were other royals in the House who could have entered the contest, such as: Kwame Adomako, a graduate music teacher; his brother, Kwasi Anno-Agyei, a head-teacher in a Junior Secondary School; Kofi Adu, a retired Bank Manager; and his brother, Kwame Effah, a trader in Kumase. However, none of these people were able to present a stronger case than Asiedu for their nomination to the elders of Firamah House. Asiedu's apparent wealth was

demonstrated by the modern house he built in 1992 and his position was strengthened by his support from his two brothers who were living with him in Japan. However, my presence in Domeabra led Kwadwo Asiedu to reconsider his competence and evaluate his real financial position rather than the one his people at home spoke about. He sent a confidential message to his sub-lineage head (who was also the Beretuo lineage head) and his mother that he would like the House to support me in the contest. The House knew very well it was my contribution to their matri-nephew, Kofi Asamoah Anarfi, that had helped Kwadwo Asiedu's junior brother to migrate to Japan. This was not only an act of traditional good manners but was an expression of my desire to help Domeabra. So the Firamah elders knew that they were morally bound to support my nomination. It was questionable whether they would continue to support a relative who doubted his own ability to rule. Hence Asiedu's nomination was 'unofficially' withdrawn and only Afoakwa and I remained in the contest.

Afoakwa's supporters now set to work on my brothers. Thus Ankobeahene's matri-relatives worked to influence my twin brother, who was the only person who could possibly successfully ask me to withdraw my nomination and lend my support to Afoakwa. Afua Konadu, a senior woman (or elder) of Ankobeahene's House, called my twin brother to a meeting in an attempt to convince him to persuade me to withdraw my nomination. She said "Attah junior, it is absolutely clear that Attah senior should be enstooled, but as you are aware, Afoakwa's mother never gave birth to a daughter, only to

boys, so if we do not support Afoakwa for enstoolment, the sub-lineage would stand to loose large considerable assets."

My twin brother thanked her without entering into any serious discussion. He was already aware of the sub-House's interest in Afoakwa's riches.

Over the course of his meetings, my twin brother met one of his patri-granddaughters from Asiamah House. She was called Akua Obenewah Ntiamoah. She was a daughter of our late grandfather, Nana Ntiamoah, who had opposed Nana Frimpong Boateng till his death in 1989. Akua Obenewah Ntiamoah's appeal to my twin brother was as follows: "Wofa Attah, tell Wofa Attah Panin to withdraw from the contest and support Afoakwa. For he has the money to rehabilitate the Stool".

My twin brother replied: "We are fed up with Afoakwa, although he is rich, is a millionaire, and would be able to could rehabilitate the Stool. We understand the intentions of his uterine house in their attempts to get access to his wealth. How is it possible that a reactionary force such as this one rehabilitate the Stool? How is it possible one person can use his own money to rehabilitate the Stool? Do you know what his people are waiting for? What we need is the most competent and qualified person to be elected. My brother and I are the most competent and qualified people. Tell me if you know any other person apart from us who has contributed so much for so long for Domeabra and her people? I personally invited Panin [senior twin] to contest the Stool"

My elder (blood) brother, Nuamah Kwabiah, was in a very compromised position since, under Ankobeahene's influence, he had plotted with Kwaku Frimpong and Adwoa Serwah (see above)

to get me to withdraw and support Afoakwa. There was a history to this. For Nuamah Kwabiah, anyone who supported Nana Frimpong Boateng's destoolment was an enemy. I perceived that Nuamah's real reason for not supporting me was that he wanted me to concentrate on family problems (i.e. support him). He did not say this to me directly but did say that I should I should support my twin brother. My twin brother retorted that he had no need of my support and so Nuamah's reasoning was false. Nuamah's actual words was that the Chief was doing his best. As a high-ranking senior officer in GCMB, he bore some responsibility for overlooking the complaints and misrule evident during Nana Frimpong Boateng's term of office. To many educated citizens, including my brothers and friends, this lack of insight was uncharacteristic of Nuamah Kwabiah because, as an intelligent man, he should have seen and publicly objected to Nana Frimpong Boateng's behaviour. Nuamah Kwabiah had, in short, been a 'yes-man' sympathiser towards the Chief. The previous day, Nuamah's close friend, Osei Banahene, had disclosed to us that Nuamah felt isolated from us on account of his political stance and that now might be a good time to try to reconcile our differences. He said that, were we not to present a unified front, our detractors would be sure to attempt to explain these differences in a manner calculated to damage our causes. It would also discourage our supporters. Subsequently, Nuamah Kwabiah was told either to support my candidacy or keep his mouth shut. The sanction used against him was denial of free speech.

The lying in state and burial of the deceased Chief was an ideal time for Afoakwa's 'confrontation' against me since

it was a perfect occasion for him to display his wealth. Afoakwa tried to use his payment of Frimpong Boateng's mortuary charges and for the renovation of the so-called palace to advance his cause.

On August 27th, Domeabra's Krontihene and the other Elders, the Beretuo lineage Chiefs (Hwediemhene, Wankyihene), Elders of Ofoasehene and Dwansa's Krontihene met to decide the final date to lay the late Chief in state. It was decided that the body would be brought from the University of Science and Technology mortuary in Kumase on Saturday, 9th September and laid in state in the evening for public visitation the following Sunday and Monday and that the burial would be at 10pm on Tuesday 11th September 1995. At the meeting, Hwediemhene[10] asked who was meeting the cost of the burial. Ankobeahene informed the Chiefs and Elders that he was the sole contributor so far. Hwediemhene asked all the Beretuo elders who were sponsoring candidates for enstoolment to contribute what they could.

Abusua panin Yaw Amponsah and Kofi Baafi, the sub-lineage head (efie panin) of Asiamah House, told the Chiefs that, at the death of Nana Frimpong Boateng, Kofi Baafi proposed that a certain family house (Adem Villa) be used for the purpose of laying Nana Frimpong Boateng, a royal from Adem's house, in state. However, Ankobeahene insisted on the renovation of Oheneba Opuni house, despite Krontihene and the other Elders repeatedly making it clear that Domeabra-Owerriman Division could not afford to pay such high mortuary and renovation costs. Such costs were excessive for a Chief who had contributed to neither the Stool's material

circumstance nor towards its good name. The meeting acknowledged that there would be extra expenses so the lineage elders were ordered to contribute what they could afford. That very evening, Kofi Baafi and Yaw Amponsah contributed 150,000 cedis and 200,000 cedis respectively, through Krontihene, to the Funeral Committee. However, their money was returned to them on Ankobeahene's orders since Ankobeahene wanted Afoakwa to be the sole contributor, in order to boost his rich image.

Afoakwa went on to attempt to subvert me directly. This occurred under the auspices of Hwidiemhene (Beretuo lineage Chief), who had invited me, with my matri-brother, Kofi Amoako Gyampah to a house in Domeabra. To our surprise, five minutes after our arrival, Afoakwa and his friend Osei Kofi also arrived. We had not met each other since our arrival in Ghana. Unexpectedly, Hwediemhene told us of his idea to seek a compromise between the two of us so that one of us would step down. Both of us were from Asiamah House so, if we failed to compromise, he would support someone from another House and would ask both of us to step down.

He led us to a private room. Osei Kofi is not a citizen of Domeabra-Owerriman Division but had taken advantage of his relationship with Afoakwa to get involved in Domeabra Stool affairs. Hwediemhene invited his uncle to help us sort our differences out so that one of us would withdraw. Hwediemhene left us together 'in camera'.

Yaw Buroni said openly that once we had sent our 'apologies' we could all compete for the contest. However, we should advise our supporters to avoid intimidation or

confrontation which would lead to public disorder. Osei Kofi, who was a stranger and quite ignorant of Domeabra Stool's affairs, as well being semi-literate, made it clear that Afoakwa had a lot of money to rehabilitate the Stool and also to help socio-economic development in Domeabra.

He could not, however, convince me to withdraw from the contest. Afoakwa had never made any actual material or financial contributions to Domeabra's socio-economic development. To add to all my past contributions, the previous Monday the Ghana Cement Factory had brought an articulated-lorry load of used equipment from Tema. This load included typewriters, photostat copy machines, refrigerators, cookers, dishwashers and 27 hospital beds. I had collected these from Norwegian schools and colleges for Owerriman College and for the proposed Domeabra-Owerriman Health Centre. The lorry arrived on the day of the burial of the deceased Chief. All the mourners saw this conspicuous amount of free gifts. Osei Kofi's boast that Afoakwa had money to rehabilitate the Stool was nothing but a calculated strategy to influence Domeabra public opinion.

I told Afoakwa: "I am your senior brother and I have sacrificed too much for too long. Nobody knows the history of this Stool better than me, so you should give me the chance and, after my reign, you can take over. History shows that it is not necessarily wealthy royals who make the best leaders". I went on to say that if Afoakwa still felt we had to compete I would ask my people to respect both the law and my lineage's nomination.

Afoakwa arrogantly and rudely responded: "You do not have money, you are learned, you are a man of wisdom, you have the ability to organise people, so use your intelligence to help me to be enstooled for I could get Paramount status for the Stool."

I was surprised that Afoakwa, who had money and supporters such as Agogohene and Hwediemhene and who was being sponsored by our matri-grandfather (Ankobeahene), was himself giving testimony to my ability to be a competent traditional leader. In spite of this, he wanted to displace me, even though the Beretuo royal council, five of the kingmakers (whilst he had only two), the intellectuals of Domeabra and the public supported me as the only royal qualified for heirship. However, the effects of the SAP were such that people needed money badly. Even Agogohene told me frankly he needed money badly. That was why he had accepted Afoakwa's money in return for his support.

I could not tolerate his rudeness and his suggestion that I should use my skills and hard work to support him for enstoolment. I asked Kofi Amoako Gyampah to go with me into the sitting room to meet Hwidiemhene. To our surprise, we met a large gathering of people, including Wankyihene, his chief linguist, Ofoasehene's Kyidomhene, Domeabra's Benkumhene (Afoakwa's patri-uncle and supporter), and some of Afoakwa's uterine brothers. Whilst looking through the window, I saw Ankobeahene arriving at the house. In the front of the sitting room was a reporter, Osei Tutu, from the *Asante Pioneer*, Kumase. This revealed to me that Hwediemhene was privately meeting with the above Chiefs and Elders and had

assured them he would use an alternative strategy to influence me to withdraw my nomination by having a meeting with Afoakwa and I. He was hoping that, with none of my supporters present, I could be cajoled to withdraw from the contest. The Chiefs met to hear the outcome of Hwidiemhene's meeting that he had arranged between me and Afoakwa. He felt so clever that he had used psychological pressure to attempt to make me resign. Neither uncle, Kofi Baafi, nor other members of the Beretuo royal representatives, except my matri-brother Kofi Amoako Gyampah who had accompanied me, had been invited to this meeting.

Yaw Buroni, Osei Kofi and Afoakwa re-emerged to join us in the sitting room. Afoakwa sat by me to attempt to appease me with flattery and to cajole me into supporting him for enstoolment. Hwediemhene served each of us with a bottle of Coca-Cola. I saw Hwidiemhene's act of arranging such a meeting, which I saw as an attempt to compel me to withdraw my nomination, as scandalous for a Chief. It was perpetrated without concern for the sentiments and desires of the Beretuo elders who obviously sought a good leader for Amoantwi Stool. Hwidiemhene's main concern was to fulfil his deal with Afoakwa. Kofi Amoako Gyampah and I outwitted him by sending signals to one another to walk out and leave him in disgrace. I quickly approached Hwidiemhene and, in a polite manner, asked his permission to leave for a short while to attend to some business at home. He agreed and we left for home. We reported the events to our uncle Kofi Baafi.

Hwediemhene waited almost an hour for us to return. People were arriving to greet him as tradition demanded. He

sent one of my matri-brothers, Kwabena Frimpong, to call on me. Coincidentally, my twin brother went to greet Hwidiemhene. He did not know of Hwediemhene's scandalous move to cajole me. He was then sent by Hwediemhene to call on me. When my twin brother arrived, Kofi Amoako Gyampah and our uncle revealed Hwediemhene's dirty tricks to him. We discussed the provocative and uncustomary method Hwidiemhene had wanted to use. (Before my brother's arrival, all the people [including the Chiefs] waited to no avail and were compelled to disperse). My twin brother went back to confront Hwidiemhene on his act which had been so provocative and full of intolerable dirty tricks that I had felt compelled to leave. My twin brother protested to Hwidiemhene about this act. Hwediemhene shamefully replied that, even if I had not been willing to accept his suggested compromise, I should have waited to tell him.

The following questions remained in my mind. Why had Hwidiemhene not asked Afoakwa, who was obviously not going to be elected by the royal council, to withdraw his nomination? Why had he not made Afoakwa know he was paying a high price for the Stool? Why had Hwidiemhene not asked Afoakwa the people's feelings about him? Why had Hwidiemhene not told Afoakwa whether he had the qualities to mobilise people from the grass roots?

10 (vi) THE FINAL ENCOUNTER: SUBVERTING THE UMPIRES

By September 17th the main power holders relating to the Beretuo lineage had fairly clearly shown their hands. On my side were Adontenhene (who had been away in London during the

burial ceremony), Krontihene (president of the Executive), Nifahene (senior wing-chief), and two other senior Chiefs, Akwamuhene and Twafohene (who was summoned from Nigeria). Against me were Ankobeahene, and wing-chiefs Benkumhene and Akyeamehene. This exactly mirrored the line up, 'for' and 'against' the destoolment of the previous Chief except that Gyasehene, another senior wing-chief 'for' destoolment had now defected to Afoakwa's camp. As well as being married to a close matri-relative of Afoakwa, he had been promised huge amount of money in lieu of his collapsed cocoa farm. This, as we shall see, was not the last such defection.

The Beretuo Royal Council and Executive Council were together the 'umpire' in the enstoolment contest. The 'umpire', accordingly to Bailey, is an impartial individual or institution charged with ensuring that a political contest is played according to the rules. I noted at the beginning of the chapter that the key players in the Royal and Executive Councils are the Queenmother, the Krontihene, the lineage head, and the sub-lineage heads (elders). Bailey notes that umpires with few resources at their disposal must be pragmatically realistic about the resources at the disposal of the contestants (1977: 138). Moreover, umpires with few resources are liable to subversion by wealthy contestants. Afoakwa's group certainly appreciated the Royal Council's and Executive's weakness in this last respect. Their attempted subversion of these bodies saw them attempting to circumvent deliberations by excluding the opinions of the Elders: they deliberately targeted the Queenmother and Krontihene,

intending that either of these would pre-empt proper procedure and have Afoakwa ratified as Chief.

The attempted subversion of the Queenmother took place on October 16th. On Monday 16th October, Ankobeahene, Benkumhene, Gyasehene and Akyeamehene went to the Queenmother (Ohemma) to propose their own nomination. According to the Ohemma, these Elders demanded that she nominate one of Afoakwa and myself. As she alone did not have the customary authority to do so, she sent a messenger to the abusua panin (Beretuo lineage head) to ask him to come for the nomination.

The abusua panin told the messenger to inform the Ohemma that such proposals were improper and unconstitutional. Further, the Awukudae ceremony had still to take place. At this ceremony on the following Wednesday, an inventory of the Stool room regalia would be taken, followed by the consecration of the Black Stools. She should note the significance of purification of the Black Stools and reject any uncustomary demand for the nomination.

After they had attempted to impose their nomination, Akyeamehene informed abusua panin that Ohemma had nominated Afoakwa. Abusua panin was shocked. He invited the other Beretuo council elders to confront Ohemma about the authority under which she alone had made the nomination. Abusua panin, Kofi Baafi, Kwasi Akyeampong and Kofi Amoako Gyampah went to the Ohemma to question her about whether she had the absolute authority to nominate Afoakwa without the lineage council's consensus.

Ohemma said "I have never nominated Afoakwa. I was visited by Ankobeahene (my matri-uncle), Akyeamehene,

Gyasehene and Benkumhene. Ankobeahene made a vehement appeal in broken tears 'Nana Ohemma, if you do not nominate my grandson Kwabena Afoakwa, I will die, for if you nominate Attah, I am dead, I am afraid of my grandson, Attah'. Ankobeahene persisted with his demands in a very determined manner. As a matter of principle, I told Ankobeahene that of the four contestants, two were still overseas (i.e. Kwadwo Asiedu and Kwame Frimpong) and the two present in Ghana were his two grandsons so he himself should nominate one of them. Ankobeahene quickly replied, 'I have selected Afoakwa'."

Abusua panin, supported by the three Beretuo elders, told the Queenmother that under no circumstances would they accept the dubious attempt by Ankobeahene to impose anybody against their wishes. Abusua panin subsequently informed the chief linguist that Ohemma had refuted any nomination imposed by Ankobeahene. He, abusua panin, therefore treated the nomination as dubious and would not sanction it.

However, the Benkumhene and his clique asked the abusua panin to nominate someone that very evening (Wednesday 18th October 1995). Abusua panin made it absolutely clear to Benkumhene and his clique that this was not possible since he needed some days to summon the Beretuo council for a meeting to decide which day might be suitable for making their nomination. Abusua panin was allowed to arrange a meeting of which nominees were to be presented on Saturday 21st October. The proposal was unanimously agreed.

At this juncture our suspicions about the neutrality of Krontihene began to be aroused. On Thursday 19th October 1995, Krontihene and other wing-chiefs met to agree with the

abusua panin to hold the nomination on Saturday 21st October 1995. Krontihene and the Elders in favour of Afoakwa flouted constitutional aspects of Asante chiefship and democracy. This meant, in effect, that they refused to wait for the Royal Council's nominations.

The rights of the Royal Council had been ignored. This act could not have been carried out by these people without conspiracy by Agogohene and Hwediemhene. These men knew the dangerous path they were treading but they continued to influence people. They assured people that Agogohene was all out to legalise their action by an entry in the government gazette (such entries give Chiefs the government's recognition) and use his influence to thwart any action by the abusua panin and the Beretuo council.

In addition to the malpractice already mentioned, Afoakwa was not brought to the palace so that the commoners could voice their opinions. Following this the kingmakers should have debated the worth of a nominee. None of this took place. That very day they decided to make the nomination the following Saturday and, with the Krontihene, both acceding and assisting, a meeting was arranged at the Queenmother's private house. Her senior son, who had been her personal advisor, was away in Kumase. None of her senior matri-sisters or brothers were invited.

The Elders present were Krontihene, Akwamuhene, Nifahene, Benkumhene, Ankobeahene, Gyasehene, Akyeamehene, Nana Effah (Pekyerekye's Odekuro [sub-chief]), Nana Opuni (Adeemera's Odekuro) and other minor wing-chiefs. The only wing-chief who refused to attend was Adontenhene since he

refused to allow himself to be corrupted as the royal council had not been allowed to nominate their candidate.

The meeting was not open to the public. The only commoners who surrounded the house were people who seem to me to being acting as if they were paid unemployed hooligans who had been hired to cause intimidation and to protect these men[11]. The Chief-elect was supposed to be carried out through the main streets to announce his nomination to the people. However, when the secret installation had taken place, the Elders came out with Krontihene, Gyasehene and Benkumhene being carried shoulder- high and smeared with powder, as if they themselves had been enstooled. The Chief-elect was never seen.

It was as if these characters had been enshrined. They might well have felt they had been when their received bribes were taken into consideration. It was obvious that the Krontihene had colluded with Ankobeahene's clique to install Afoakwa. On the same day, the local gossiping network reported that Krontihene had received a heavy bribe and had accepted 'come what may'.

A friend commented "a bribe as high as 5-10 million cedis (£2,600 - 5,000, which would be more than five year's income for an average farmer) would be accepted by even a Bishop" (Kwame Effah, November 1995, London).

On Friday 20th October 1995, the Deputy Superintendent of Police at the local Police District Office invited both sides' supporters to warn them that they (the police) were not interested in their installation and that any further act of hooliganism would be dealt by law.

After the meeting called by the Deputy Superintendent, I was accompanied by my sister, Abena Appiaah-Osei Kwabiah, to inform my supporters (Brother Opoku Manwere, Kofi Duh Ampem, Barimah Yaw Frimpong and Nana Ti Afun Ampatatwum). I discussed the whole unconstitutional process with the Registrar for Regional House of Chiefs. He advised that, since people had been corrupted so heavily, even if the case was brought before the Asantehene and the action declared unconstitutional, as the Queenmother was weak and aged, the Elders would have to abide by the nomination. The Registrar also said that someone who bought his way to power would face enormous problems after a couple of years. People would not be prepared to contribute collectively if the Chief had claimed to be a millionaire. The registrar declared, "there is a logical saying that if you are born a Chief let someone usurp power yet one day you would be enstooled."

On Saturday 21st October 1995, my uncle Kofi Baafi and I visited Okyeame (Senior Linguist) Baafour Osei Akoto who was about 94 years old. We informed him about all that had happened and he told us he was enstooled as Asantehene's senior linguist in 1935 and had been involved himself in numerous enstoolment cases and was a member of the circle who secured the nomination of present Asantehene. As things had not turned out well in Domeabra, I should forget about everything and return to Britain to continue my studies and one day those who overlooked so many things and were solely out for money would realise their mistake.

On Monday 23rd October, I bid my people farewell and left for Accra to pursue some research which I was doing at

the same time as contesting the Stool. That very day I met Opoku Manwere and Barimah Yaw Anarfi Frimpong. Opoku Manwere was very sympathetic to me. He advised me on a number of things, including my academic work. He believed the socio-economic dangers facing Domeabra were great. But he went on to say that we had played our part. We visited Dwansahene. He narrated how one Chief came to meet him and said that he had changed to supporting Afoakwa since Afoakwa had placed thousands of dollars at the disposal of his supporters. He had asked Dwansahene why should he support me. He made it clear to Dwansahene that I was his junior brother and secondary school mate and that he had previously supported my enstoolment. However, now somebody else from the same house had brought thousands of dollars to Domeabra so whom should they follow?

Dwansahene's final comments to me were: "the way Afoakwa has been elected has set a very poor precedent whereby competent nominees can be ignored because someone can just buy the Stool. Who again would sacrifice as much as you have done for not only Domeabra but both Owerriman and Pranum in general?"

I was not upset as I knew it would not take two years before Domeabra-Owerriman's people realised that Afoakwa did not have as much money as he and his contractors had boasted. Since leaving Ghana, messages have continued to arrive informing me that people are openly complaining and declaring that, when they wanted a man of knowledge and wisdom, Afoakwa had deceived them with money.

The enstoolment in Domeabra is an example of how the imposition of the Structural Adjustment Programme by World Bank and IMF may be causing social effects and people in high positions are surrendering their principles to such impostors to ensure their own economic survival. The most important factor to come to light was that foreign aid and dollars have represented stronger capital than any internal resources.

SUMMARY

The economic crises have had a serious effect on traditional democracy as a result of the effects of SAP. This chapter deals with an enstoolment to a throne. Intensive lobbying was launched by the supporters of the four royal nominees. In the fight for nomination Kwabena Afoakwa and I (who were both from the same house) were the serious candidates. I was a post-graduate student and Afoakwa was a New York-based businessman. Initially, the majority of the Elders and the royal council were in favour of my nomination. Various attempts were made to pressure my supporters into ceasing to support me. However, the royal lineage insisted on supporting me because of my historical contribution towards socio-economic development in Owerriman and my concern about the good name of Amoantwi Stool. Afoakwa and his supporters, finding it difficult to win the favour of the royal council, attempted to use an alternative strategy. I was using normative methods to fight the election. Afoakwa, seeing so many of the wing-chiefs impoverished by SAP, used pragmatic methods (huge monetary rewards) to influence many people. The wing-chiefs (except Adontenhene) were bribed to use whatever

means possible to enstool Afoakwa without the customary approval of the royal council. Afoakwa demonstrated his wealth by renovating an old house for the deceased Chief to be laid in state. He also started a new building for his grandmother's Antwiwah uterine group. In short, Afoakwa built up enough capital, financial and symbolic, to achieve his goal.

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1 The 'Asante Democracy' is a local term used by Ghanaians. It does not mean democracy in the Western sense. There is a selective group of Elders (Kingmakers or wing-chiefs) and the Royal Council (the Queenmother, the lineage head and sub-lineage heads). Each group exercises its right to nominate a potential successor and reject other nominees. The commoners also have the right to support the person they feel is popular and will provide good leadership. This is the elective element in that the contestants are supposed to command popularity from a wide cross-section of the people.

2 That is, "traditional", i.e. following Asante legal procedures.

3 That is, a "practical" way of achieving a goal, regardless of (il)legality.

4 Between 1981-1984, Ghanaian goods were smuggled to Togo from the national textile factories for sale for foreign money. The goods were then bought as foreign goods and

smuggled back to Ghana. The PNDC government declared this trade to be 'sabotage of Ghana economy' and hence illegal. Those who were involved in these illegal practices used trucks for transporting, for example, petroleum products. Nana Frimpong Boateng, who was a tanker driver, was hired for this business. The chieftaincy law made it emphatically clear that any Chief found to be involved in illegal trade would be destooled by the PNDC government without any need for customary destoolment charges.

5 Nana Frimpong Boateng, prior to his enstoolment, was aware that my twin brother (Commander Attah Adomako-Kwabiah) and I were the popular choices and, after his enstoolment, people looked to me in particular to show interest in taking over the Stool from Nana Frimpong Boateng. My survival after my open criticism of the Chief was welcomed by the people since all the previous critics of Nana Frimpong Boateng had died in mysterious circumstances. This created fear among the people that the Chief had spiritual powers (juju) to liquidate his opponents. However, all along Nana Frimpong Boateng knew this would not deter me if I wanted to support his destoolment.

6 Great Oath (Ntam Kesee). A senior or Paramount Chief swears a Great Oath of office before Asantehene and a local oath such as Domeabrahene Yawoada before Domeabra-

Owerriman's Elders. If any of the customary rules of chiefship are broken the Chief has to abdicate.

7 In judging disputes, one found guilty may appeal through an Elder or a Chief to ask for pardon or mercy. This apology (dwanetoa) represents a symbol of respect and recognition of guilt. When an individual wants to contest for heirship, he appeals to a recognised Elder or a Chief first as a formal expression of his right to contest for heirship. This likewise is known as rendering an apology.

8 Contestants, either personally or through lineage supporters and friends, must have informal meetings with the influential commoners, wing-chiefs (kingmakers) and the royal council to convince these people about their qualities and their intended programmes for the Stool and the socio-economic development of the town and traditional area. They must also persuade the common people, through discussion of the personalities involved, to give their moral support and persuade others to accept their nomination.

9 This money was for buying drinks for my agents to use in conversations with voters and opponents. Tradition demands that such conversations involve schnapps.

10 Hwidiemhene was a Chief and should not have committed this act of trying to get me resign which would jeopardise Domeabra's socio-economic development, in order to get dollars. Hwidiemhene was my senior at Prempeh College. He has known me well since then and, since 1992 he and Adontenhene were told by Agogohene that if the Stool became vacant they would give it to me. Adontenhene had maintained his support for me. He was a well-known international accountant and also knew Domeabra very well as it was there that he had received his primary education. As a Chief, Hwidiemhene should not have stooped to accept Afoakwa's money. Hwidiemhene had been in London in early August 1995 and promised to campaign for the fourth candidate, Kwame Frimpong. As a Chief he should not have directly involved himself in such a disgraceful action.

11 In enstoolment contests, commoners form pressure groups. They can campaign for destoolment and, when they achieve their aim, they can lobby for a candidate. Prior to 1990, unwarranted chieftaincy disputes occurred and so the rights of commoners (Nkwankwaa) were removed. The Royal Councils and the kingmakers were given the power and authority to destool and enstool. Before the enactment of this chieftaincy law, there were known agitators who acted on behalf of contesting royals for monetary rewards. These local political agitators were known as 'destoolment and enstoolment contractors'.

However, since the economic crisis began in Ghana, people who were in the PNDC/NDC governments or who had influential and urban bases have been 'destoolment and enstoolment contractors' for monetary rewards. In this contest, such contractors supported the weaker candidate in his attempt to use financial resources to usurp power.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

"The rural exodus - instigated by the expansion of capitalism (which today operates on a world scale as it did 150 years ago in Europe) - is not always everywhere kept in check by the international bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it has become so vast that, as a result of expropriations by imperialist agricultural policies and colonial wars, the slightest climatic or political accident exposes the economies of nations or whole subcontinents to terrible famine which expropriate *de facto* entire rural populations whose numbers bear no relation to the employment capacities of local industrial sectors. Neither the disasters nor the mass exodus nor, above all, the situation and death of millions of people involved, can be checked by the agencies set up by international capitalism (FAO, AID etc) while they are the effects of policies instigated by other, similar agencies (BIRD, IMI)" (Meillassoux, 1975: 139).

These comments are very apt with regard to the recent situation in Ghana. The results of the 1983 bush fires and the subsequent acceptance of the SAP are examples of Meillassoux's predictions. Subsequent developmental and political policies have failed to strengthen the local economy. This must in part be understood in relation to what can be described as politically turbulent years.

The Structural Adjustment Programme was agreed to when Ghana was under the military regime of PNDC. Other African countries with civilian governments refused to accept such

harsh conditions. Adu Boahen suggests reasons as to why the programme was supported by international organisations and implemented without any protest nor voiced dissidence. He declares that the passivity of the Ghanaians over the unreasonable measures and social cost of adjustment was not the result of confidence in the integrity of PNDC but rather was due to a position of fear. Potential protesters were detained, liquidated, dragged before various vetting committees or subjected to all sorts of molestation (Adu Boahen, 1989: 51-52). According to de la Gorgendiere, only an authoritarian regime is able to implement the harsh programme for adjustment such as has been seen in Ghana (de la Gorgendiere, 1993: 239-243).

The Ghanaian government's attempted solution to the effects of the bush fires and the economic crisis, arranged through the World Bank and IMF in 1983, has had enormous socio-economic effects. It has brought impoverishment to the general population. The devaluation of the cedi has reduced the purchasing power of the people. In consequence, a large proportion of young people have left their natal homes to join an increasing trend towards overseas migration.

Fourteen years after the introduction of SAP, most Ghanaians have little economic security. Periodic increases in cocoa production have not been enough to balance the high cost of inflation or the continued devaluation of the cedi. There has been little investment in alternative sectors such as the rehabilitation and expansion of existing factories to attempt to make Ghana less dependent on imported foreign goods. Increase in production of Ghanaian local industries

would likewise further the chances of employment for school leavers. Seventy percent of Ghana's population are farmers, yet in many places even simple irrigation schemes are lacking. This continues despite government agricultural programmes.

That matriliny, among the Asante, has survived through these turbulent economic crises is surprising in view of the substantial anthropological literature (discussed in Chapter 3) which foretells its demise even under straightforward capitalist circumstances. The continued relevance of chiefship, to which matriliny's inextricably linked, must be the reason. To be sure, in the contest of present-day political dualism (Chapter 3) the role and rule of the traditional Chief is now severely curtailed. Yet Chiefs patently remain figures of influence within local communities not least because their relations with government authorities can bring economic benefits to local areas (Chapter 9). Certainly the prestige that attends to being a Chief remains considerable. It may be noted that all four contestants for the Amoantwi Stool were based overseas as migrants.

In this study considerable emphasis has been given to the place of, and the experience of, Chiefs. It might be argued that it has delivered a certain perspective in this study, and that a focus on commoners might have provided a somewhat different picture of present-day Asante society. There may be some justification in this but, even so, all commoners are potentially caught up in chiefship affairs. As I have mentioned, all present-day Asante society are members of a lineage which, in relation to a particular locality

somewhere, is royal. In respect of that locality, any such members are permitted to submit themselves to be considered as nominees for chiefship. Thus the powerful wing-chiefs in Domeabra (Chapter 10), who, because they are not members of the local royal Beretuo lineage, are not entitled to enstoolment in the name of that town. Nonetheless, they are members of lineages which, in other parts of Asanteland, stand as royal. Here they could enjoy full eligibility to contest for a full-pledged royal Stool.

The matrilineal notions that Asante continue to invoke on behalf of the articulation of many practical concerns in everyday life therefore find their legitimacy and support in the chiefship institution. Thus the return of many urban dwellers, post-1983, to rehabilitate farms in the rural areas, the financial and organisation of migration and the sending of remittance back home, the welfare of overseas migrants - all these are prominently articulated in matrilineal terms.

The question remains as to whether the chiefship institution is under threat. What occurred in Domeabra has occurred elsewhere, that chieftaincy rules relating to enstoolment have been blatantly flouted because due process has been subverted by bribery. The irony is that overseas migrants who seem so much to value chiefship, by their supremely pragmatic strategies, may corrupt the institution beyond repair. Should this happen, many factors promoting community well-being, not least the local development projects that overseas matrilineal relatives prominently

finance, could be in jeopardy. Again, SAP and its attendant economic crisis is ultimately responsible.

In order to re-address the situation in Ghana, it is necessary that people work together to make agricultural investments. Neither individuals nor isolated families are in a position to achieve economic comfort. Migration, whilst not in normal circumstances an ideal option, provides revenue which has to be used appropriately in order that a more acceptable standard of living can be achieved by the people at home. In this light, rural reinvestment becomes a primary concern.

The Asante lineage responses in time of displacement, dislocation, catastrophe and upheavals should be utilised in organising lineage members (farmers) into traditional systems of collective labour working groups (traditional co-operatives: Nnoboa) for agricultural investment. Ahmed remarks, "social forms of human interaction are created by people acting deliberately or stimulated by certain aims". In the traditional organisations, nothing is done without a desired aim (Abdel Gaffar, 1977: 66). The thousands of Asantes' overseas migrants could be encouraged to invest in sub-lineage and lineage co-operatives in their natal homes. There could be working groups organised at the level of traditional district, subdivided into (seven) lineage co-operatives (Abusua Nnoboa) and so on. The lineage co-operatives could be organised for investment in simple irrigation systems for small scale food production farms and small scale agro-industries. The members could deposit agricultural development savings with Ghana Agricultural

Development Bank. The Bank could invest in irrigation projects which should be handed over to respective 'Abusua Nnoboa'. The pumps should be handed over to the co-operative units, after a few years time, when ownership would be transferred to the people. The pumps should be designed in such a way that maintenance would be easy and less expensive. With such appropriate technology and traditional organisation for local participation, people from the village, town or community will be enticed by a new visible economic development. They will channel their foreign earnings towards such investment over which they will have full control and which will give them security. The overseas migrants who invest in this development will return home as there will be economic security for them in future. It will change the present trend of buying and selling investment in Ghana. But in my view: the institution of chiefship is necessary if this is to happen.

APPENDIX:

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Age: .....

2. Sex: .....

3. Level of Education: .....

4. Ethnic Group: .....

5. Religious Denomination: .....

6. Place of Birth: .....

   6a. Region: .....

7. Hometown: .....

   7b. Region: .....

8. Marital Status:

   Single .....

   Married .....

   Divorced .....

   Widow .....

9. How many people are in your household? .....

9b. What is your daily household expenditure? .....

SECTION B: ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

10. What is your usual occupation? .....

11. What is your current occupation? .....

12. When did you start this occupation? .....

13. What were you doing before starting this? .....

14. How many people assist you in this venture? .....

15. How many are your relatives other than wife and children? .....

16. How many of the relatives are employed? .....

17. How many of them are your children (offspring) and wives? .....

18. Do you think male farmers get support from relatives either than female farmers? .....

19. List the main crops you produce:

    i .....

    ii .....

    iii .....

    iv .....

20. How many bags/tonnes of each do you produce annually?

    i .....

    ii .....

    iii .....

    iv .....

21. How many do you earn from each annually?

    i .....

    ii .....

    iii .....

    iv .....

22. When did you start producing cash crops?

23. Give 2 reasons why you went into cash crop production?

    i .....

    ii .....

24. Do you face any problem in producing these crops?

    Yes .....

    No .....

    Don't know .....

25. If you do, give 2 such problems:

    i .....

    ii .....

26. If no, give reasons: .....

    .....

SECTION C: IMMIGRATION

27. Do you know of any immigrant in this community?

    Yes .....

    No .....

    Don't know .....

28. If yes, what economic activity do they do? .....

29. Do they own their personal plots/land for the economic activity?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

30. How do they acquire land for economic activities? .....

.....

31. Do you as a farmer benefit from the immigrants?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

32. If yes, give 2 of the benefits :

i .....

ii .....

33. Do such people pose any problem to you as a farmer?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

34. If yes, give 2 of the problems:

i .....

ii .....

35. If no, why? .....

.....

36. Do immigrants pay tribute to landlords?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

37. If yes, in what form? .....

.....

38. If no why? .....

.....

39. Do immigrants pay tribute to chief(s)?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

40. If yes, in what form? .....

.....

41. If no, why? .....

.....

42. What is the Land Tenurial arrangement in the Town?

i. Between an Indigenes and an Immigrant: .....

.....

ii. Between Indigenes: .....

.....

iii. Between a chief and an Indigene: .....

.....

iv .....

.....

43a. Has the introduction of cash crops in this town affected the traditional way of standard of living of the people?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

If yes, give 2 reasons: .....

.....

43b. If yes, in what specific ways? Give 2 examples

.....

.....

SECTION D: EMIGRATION

44. How many people have migrated from your household? .....

45. Who sponsored them?

i .....

ii .....

iii .....

iv .....

46. Do you receive remittance from any migrant?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

47. If yes, what is your relationship with him/her? .....

.....

48. When people migrate in this town who benefits from their remittances?

Mother/father .....

children .....

Parents .....

Uncle/nephew/niece/aunt .....

Others .....

49. Do you know of any migrant who has invested in any property here? .....

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

50. If yes, what is the relationship of those who benefit from investment to the Migrant? .....

..

51. Is the extended family (matriliny) important to the survival of the individual in this community?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

52. Give 2 examples of the usefulness:

.....

.....

SECTION E: PERCEPTION OF THE FARMERS TO EXTENSION OFFICERS?

THE COCOA REHABILITATION PROJECT

53. Do Extension Officers visit your village?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

54. If yes, how often?

Very often .....

Often .....

Not quite often .....

Occasionally .....

55. Are their activities useful to your farming activities?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

56. Give 2 benefits of extension services :

i .....

ii .....

57. Do these officers pose any problem to farming activities?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

58. State 2 of the problems :

i .....

ii .....

59. Is extension work necessary today?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

60. Give reason for your answer: .....

.....

61. Have you heard of Cocoa Rehabilitation Project?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

62. If yes, was it beneficial to farmers?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

63. If yes, give 2 of the benefits:

i .....

ii .....

64. If no, give reason: .....

.....

65. Did the Cocoa Rehabilitation Project pose any problem?

Yes .....

No .....

Don't know .....

66. Give 2 of the problems:

i .....

ii .....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!

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